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GENERAL EDITOR
N. R. V. PRASAD. MA,
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PREFACE

I am happy to place before the scholar-historians, the 39th Number of **The Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society**, inspite of the inevitable delay. This is partly due to the non-availability of printing facility in the Government Presses and partly due to the non-availability of Dr.K.Krishna Murthy, who was entrusted with the task of editing, owing to ill-health. However, I seek the indulgence of the scholars who contributed their papers in particular, to bear with the department for the delay. Keeping up the onerous responsibility and commitment to continue the journal, we have undertaken the printing of this volume by including several valuable research articles. The present volume comprises of 30 articles and a book-review, written by well-known scholars and historians of national and international repute like Sri C Sivarama Murthy, Dr.K.Krishna Murthy, Dr K N Prasad, Dr.P.V P Sastry etc., dealing with various aspects of historical research based on original anthropological, geological and archaeological data. There are also some papers by enthusiastic scholars of the department, reflecting their keen sense of observation and capacity to interpret the recent archaeological finds in a scientific manner. The article entitled "The Occurrence of Rama Pithecus" by Dr. K.N.Prasad gives an account of a recently discovered fossil remain called Rama Pithecus, which, according to the scholar, is a precursor to the homo erectus of the early Pliocene times and bridges the gap between the first known Hominid Ramapithecus and Homo erectus of the mid Pliocene times. "Terracotta Coffins in late proto-historic Andhra" by Dr. B Subrahmanyam and E.Siva Nagi Reddy examines the occurrence of terracotta sarcophagi at a number of megalithic and proto-historic sites in Andhra Pradesh like Janampet, Sankhavaram, Peddamarur, Eleswaram, Jonnavada, Irladinne, Kadambapur, Agiripalle and Tenner with special reference to the practice of keeping sarcophagi in burials, and examines whether the practice was indigenous or borrowed from outside like Mesopotamia, where such coffins are reported as early as 3,000 B.C. They have also examined whether the practice is universal to the megalithic folk or limited to a particular tribe of any religio-eschatological beliefs if any, behind keeping such coffins.

There are two articles based on literary works, one of them dealing with the noble qualities possessed by the king Mandhata, who occupied a unique place in both Brahmanical

and Buddhist lore as well and is a study of the sculptural representations of Mandhata Jataka carved on upright slabs at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. Similarly the other deals with the concept, education and training to be received by a king and his daily routine etc. as found in Kamandaka Nitisara, a work on polity i.e. Rajaniti, which again is based on Kautilya's *Artha Sastra*. Among the others, the article of Late Sri B.S.L.Hanumantharao "Asoka-Maurya - the Chief Royal Patron of Buddhism in Andhra", dwells at length the yeoman services rendered by the illustrious monarch for the propagation of Buddhism in Andhra and even attempts to identify the *Stupas* at Salihundam, Guntupalle and Amaravati, as those built by Asoka, based on contemporary epigraphical, architectural and sculptural evidences.

Besides the above, there are two papers by Dr.K.Krishna Murthy entitled "Monolithic Sculptures from the vicinity of Vemanapalle(v), Adilabad District and Palliswara Mudaiya Madeva temple at Kalukada(v), in Chittoor District," which form a class by themselves, as they elucidate the typical iconographical features of the different images and architectural traits of the Vaidumbas during the medieval period. Apart from the above, "Erotic Sculptures in Orissan Temples" by Sri R.C.Misra, discusses at length the various theories for the exuberant erotic sculptures in the temple architecture of Orissa. Two other articles explaining the antiquity and significance of the place names like Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh and Nandinagar in Madhya Pradesh draw evidence from archaeological excavations and Buddhist literature. The other articles dealing with various aspects like "Vimanas in Vijayanagara temples, Agrarian relations in A.P. during the medieval period, Causes for the fall of Kakatiyas and a Unique Varaha Sculpture from Panagal," are also interesting.

In the end, I wish to thank all the scholars for contributing their valuable articles. I also thank Dr.N.S.Ramachandra Murthy, Assistant Director(Publications) and his team of Publication Assistants namely Smt. B.Indumathi Devi, Smt. R.Anjanamani and Sri C.Venkatesam Chetty for their whole-hearted co-operation and assistance in finalising the text. My thanks are also due to M/s Swamy Graphics for printing the above publication in a neat way and in record time.



(N.R.V.PRASAD
DIRECTOR

VISAKHAPATNAM – ITS ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY

—N.R.V.Prasad

The sprawling industrial city of Visakhapatnam, situated along the East-Coast of Bay of Bengal in Andhra Pradesh, has a hoary past. Originally, forming part of Central Kalinga (Madhyama Kalinga) since ancient times, it occupied a prominent place in the political, social, religious and cultural history of Āndhradēśa. The region of Kalinga is well-known as a cradle for the two major ancient religions of India viz., Jainism and Buddhism, may be due to its lengthy coast-line and a chain of hills of the Eastern Ghats flanking it. Tradition holds that a colossal idol of a Jaina Tīrthankara was shifted from Kalinga to Magadha, during the time of Bimbisāra. It is also believed that the king of Kalinga drove out the Jains from Kalinga, who, in turn approached the Mauryan emperor Aśoka and it was one of the reasons which prompted the emperor to wage a war against Kalinga. Though Jainism held its hey day in Kalinga during the centuries before Christ, championed by its protagonist Khāravēla, it was the turn of Buddhism to gain upper hand as seen from a host of Buddhist settlements situated in the Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts, at various places like Salihundam, Dantapuram, Thotlakonda, Bavikonda, Pavurallakonda, Gopalapatnam, Lingarajupalem, Sankaram, Dharapalem, Madhavadhara and Amalapuram. This occurrence of a large number of Buddhist sites in the above two districts along the east-coast seems to be mainly due to its proximity to the coast-line and the flow of rivers and rivulets like Vamsadhara, Nagavali, Muchkund, Sarada, Varaha, Gosthani, Champavati and Tandava, which merge into the Bay of Bengal and serve as safe anchoring points for the ships at several confluence points. Before going to examine the beginnings and antiquity of modern Visakhapatnam, let us first take up the evidence available in tradition and epigraphs.

According to tradition, the city of Visakhapatnam derived its name from, Vīśakha or Kārtikēya, a Hindu God. It also says, "some centuries ago a King of the Āndhra dynasty

encamped on the site of the present town, on his way to Banares and being pleased with the place, built a shrine for Viśākha, his favourite deity . . . but it (the shrine) is said to have given its name to the town and its traditional site called *Tīrthapurāṇu*, now buried in the sea is still supposed to be an auspicious place for religious bathing¹

Historically speaking, the known antiquity of Visakhapatnam seems to go back to the 5th century A.D. and it derived its name from a king called Viśākharman, who was the lord of Kaṇṇiṅga². Afterwards the history of Visakhapatnam seems to have shrouded in mystery, as we do not hear anything of it, till the medieval period i.e 11th century AD when Anantavarman Chōḍa Gaṅga, the Eastern Gaṅga king of Kaṇṇiṅga, held sway over the region. The next reference for Visakhapatnam occurs in an Inscription dated 1068 A.D. at Draksharama, which refers to a merchant of Viśākharman, who endowed some gifts to the temple of Bhīmeśwara³. Another inscription dated 1083 A.D. mentions a General of Kulōttuṅga I, named Karuṇākara, who captured Viśākharman and named it as Kulōttuṅga Chōḍa Paṭṭana⁴. Yet another inscription dated 1091 AD refers to Kulōttuṅga Chōḍa Paṭṭana, where, a guild of 12 merchants existed⁵. From the above study, it becomes clear that during the medieval times Viśākharman was renamed as Kulōttuṅga Chōḍa Paṭṭana by the Chōḍa General. These inscriptions also reveal that Visakhapatnam had cultural and mercantile contacts with Tamilnadu and Malabar regions.

Recent archaeological discoveries enable us to trace the antiquity of Visakhapatnam to a much earlier period i.e. as early as 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. if not early. This gains support from the fact that there existed major Buddhist settlements perched on the top of the hills overlooking the Bay of Bengal at places like Bavikonda, Thotlakonda and Pavurallakonda, not far away from the city, on the way to Bheemunipatnam, along the Beach road. Archaeological excavations conducted at these places brought to light, remains of a number of religious and secular structures in the form of *stūpas*, *chaityas*, *viḥāras*, congregational halls, refectories,

dining halls etc. Datable evidences like coins and inscriptions belonging to Sātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana⁵ dynasty and silver portrait coins of the Roman emperors, Augustus Caesar and Tiberius at Thotlakonda⁶, three Roman Silver coins, and an indigenous lead coin at Bavikonda, help us to assign these sites to the period not later than 1st century A.D. Further, the evidence of Brāhmī label inscriptions engraved on *Chhātra* pieces and pot-sherds found at Pavurallakonda and Thotlakonda, take back these sites to 3rd century B.C. which continued upto 3rd century A.D.

The inscriptions from Pavurallakonda read as 'Kuvana paula gamēna tatāka chhāta matapō dānaṁ' and 'Kumarikala'⁷, whereas the other labels from Thotlakonda read, as 'Hasa dānaṁ chhāta Kotūra Kiri Nivāsina' and 'Pōyadhi'. On palaeographical grounds, these characters belong to the period between 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.

Another significant discovery is the existence of relic caskets at Bavikonda, containing bone relic, suvarṇa pushpas, coral beads and precious stones, enshrined in a receptacle called Mañjūsha, on the southern side of the *Mahāstūpa*, which in turn were embedded in a miniature stone *stūpa*-like reliquary called Karaṇḍaka⁹. There is an inscription on a stone trough found at Thotlakonda¹⁰ which reads, "Dōna Datti Chimaka Chika Maya 10 Dasama Di Mata Sēnakagiri Ni(vāsi) nō Bhā(ri)ya . . . China" which means that the wife of Chikamaya, son of Chimaka, the resident of Sēnakagiri endowed by Dōna, donated for the maintenance of the *Vihāra*. 'Syēna' in Sanskrit means eagle, and 'giri' a hill, with monastic establishments nearby. Thotlakonda Bavikonda looks like a seated eagle. According to *Daṇṭa Dhātu Charitra*, Dōna a brāhmin, who conducted the funeral of Lord Buddha, divided the corporeal remains of the Lord into 8 parts and himself took the residue. So far no reference has come to light regarding the enshrining of the relics appropriated by Dōna. It is unique that, for the first time a reference to Dōna appears, who made endowments to Sēnakagiri, probably Thotlakonda. Thus, it is quite likely that the Dōna Datti Sēnakagiri is none other than the Buddhist settlement at Bavikonda,

where the above relics were retrieved from a Mahāstūpa. No where, in the relic caskets discovered so far such a huge quantity of ashes were deposited in an urn, as at Bavikonda. Further, at Salihundam and Nagarjunakonda caskets were found on the periphery of the Vēdika, whereas they were found in the Āyaka platform at Amaravati. The ceramic evidence from both the sites comprises black and red ware, tan ware, black ware and red slipped wares, assignable from Mauryan to post-Mauryan periods, with a date range between 300-100 B.C. which also supports the above contention¹¹. In addition, the abundant sculptural wealth like *Buddhapādas*, *Bhāravāhaka Yakshas* or cariatids, miniature *stūpas*, *makara tōraṇa* and *poornā kalāśa* motifs, on either side of the entrances of *vihāras* and *chaityas* etc., also supports the above view¹². The foregoing study reveals that Visakhapatnam had its beginnings in the centuries immediately preceding Christ.

As regards the name of Visakhapatnam, it may be pointed out that the term Viśākha is of utmost significance, as gleaned from the Buddhist literature, which contains at least dozen references to Viśākha. Among them, *Visuddhimagga*, a commentary on *Aṅguttara Nikāya* mentions the name of a certain Viśākha Thēra, who was a rich house-holder of Pāṭalīputra¹³. He wanted to adhere to Buddhism and came to know that Tāmraparṇi (Ceylon) would be an ideal place, since it is endowed with a row of religious shrines, ample space for sitting and lying, where the climate, the residences, the people and doctrines were congenial, in short it is easy to obtain everything there. He gave his wealth to his wife and son and came to a seaport to reach Ceylon¹⁴. The same account also occurs in the *Sumaṅgala Vīlāsini* of Buddhaghōṣa¹⁵. Yet another reference to the name Viśākha occurs in *Manōratha Pūraṇi*, a commentary on *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which mentions a female lay disciple of the Buddha, named Viśākha, daughter of Dhanamjaya and Sumana, declared by the Buddha, to be the foremost among those who ministered in to the Order (Dayikanam Agga)¹⁶.

Another reference to Viśākha occurs in *Majjima Nikāya*, who accompanied Bimbisāra on his visit to Buddha. She is also mentioned as one of the seven lay disciples of Buddha¹⁷. The foregoing study of the name Viśākha reveals the sanctity attached to it in Buddhist literature. This may lead us to surmise that the city of Visakhapatnam in all probability owes its origin to one of the disciples of the Buddha, mentioned above, bearing the name Viśākha. Further, it is plausible that the city of Visakhapattana may have derived its name from Viśākha mentioned in *Visuddhimagga* and *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, for, he is said to have begun his voyage to Ceylon from a sea-port, which in all probability may be identified with Visakhapatnam.

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See also Malala Sekhara, *Op.cit.*, 1960, p.897.

IDENTIFICATION OF NADINAGAR AND NANDINAGAR

—C.B.Trivedi

Nadinagar or Nadnagar-modern Nadhar, is located about 100 kms from Bhopal on the bank of river Narmada in Tahsil Budhni of Sehore District. From both the places, it is approachable via Baktara. It was in April, 1971, one Shri Indra Kumar Singh Chauhan of the village Babai, Hoshangabad District, M.P., requested the then Central State Minister, Shri Nitiraj Singh Choudhary, that the antiquities, which he got, be examined and accordingly, the author was deputed for studying the collection and the site, from where most of them were collected, on the 26th April, 1971.

The site, covering an area of approximately eight hectares of land, lies to the west of the village, on the right bank of river Narmada, rising approximately to twelve metres from the surrounding plain. The mound, as usual, is badly eroded as it was subjected to frequent floods. This is further evidenced by the presence of Narmada gravel and fresh water mollusca. The remains of a deep moat, converted into a Nullah, lie to the east, while the northern and southern sides have been eroded. The mound is characterised by ash colour with pottery strewn all over. The surface explorations yielded following antiquarian remains.

i. Middle Stone Age Tools

These, seemingly stray pieces, are in rolled condition together with sand.

ii. Microliths

Bladish flakes, reminiscent of chalcolithic traditions, were noticed in restricted number.

iii. Bricks

A large number of brick-bats are strewn all over. No complete shape could be found. The village Headman, late Beni Singh and his son Shri Amar Singh Rathor, informed that, in his life time, he noticed a number of brick-structures, robbed off by the villagers for their use.

iv. Terracotta Tiles

A large number of terracotta tiles, some of which having single or double perforations for tying up, have grooves and finger prints over the body. These have been fired under oxidising condition, have red core and are reminiscent of the Maurya and Sunga levels.

v. Pottery

Fine grey ware, N B P with steel black and golden hue, black-slipped, black-and-red ware, bowls, dishes and Ahichattara XA Type handles, lids and spouts were encountered. Typologically these can be dated from C 600 to 200 B C. Though parallel blades, as already mentioned, reminiscent of chalcolithic traditions, were found, no pottery was available. It may be because of restricted explorations.

vi. Miscellaneous

Besides, terracotta flesh-rubbers, variously decorated with herring-bone design, check-pattern and star-marked decorations, beads of agate, carnelian and crystalline quartz were also encountered. Others, include sand-stone pestles, iron objects in the shape of blades, nails, iron slag, iron-pans etc.

vii. Ring-wells

A number of ring-wells, with the usual greenish ashy material to prevent the pollution of pure water, were also noticed.

viii. Coins

A number of coins obtained from the mound and in the possession of Sri Indra Kumar Singh were examined. They comprise of punch-marked coins, showing usual symbols, both copper and silver, tribal-coins with legends, *Bhagila*, *Kurarya*, and others of *Bhumi Dutta*(?) and *Sātavāhana* coins with legend 'Siri Satasa' coins of 'Tipuri' (Tripuri) republic. A large number of Muslim coins could not be deciphered. Most of these coins, published by Dr S.L. Katare, show

their provenance from Jamunia and Khidia, but the fact is otherwise Shri Indra Kumar Singh, the then Malguzar got these collected from Nadner.

ix. Stone Structures

A number of architectural remains, belonging to the Kālachūris and dated to 12th century were noticed on the mound. The sculptures have now been removed to the village.

Thus, the above evidence shows that the mound was occupied, right from C 600 B.C. to the 12th century A.D. Its date may, however, be pushed back when we have more such evidence.

The area of the mound itself denotes that the city, buried beneath the earth, had a glorious past. It finds mention in the *thabas* and *suchis* of Bharhut. It appears as *Nadagiri* and also *Nadinagara* from an inscription at Bhatanwara (Satna District, M.P.). The inscription is as follows: *Nadinagarikāya ida dēvāya dānaṁ* gift of Indradēva of Nadinagar. The inscriptions of Sanchi *Stūpa* variously refer to the gifts and donations by the monks and nuns. Mention may be made of *Bhikku Kaboiasa (Kamboia)* (169), nuns, *Acaā* (179), *Pusā (Pushyā)* (277), *Śrīmita (Śrīmitrā)* (80), *Śrīdīna (Śrī Dattā)* (281), *Isidasī (Risidasī)* (320), *Vasvā* (323), *Dupasahā* (334); the gift of Odi an Inheritant of *Nadinagara* (356), *Vasudata (Vasudattā)* (358); *Yamada (Yamala)* (486), *Bhūtaka* (503), *Amata (Amṛita)*, *Rabīsa* (581); *Uttaratta* (600); *Pushyasiri* (622), *Ashā* (623); *Gadā* (690), *Aśvadēva (Asdēva)* (714) and so on.

This leads one to conclude that Nadinagar was a flourishing city, known not only to the people of *Kāknāvagin* (Sanchi), *Barhut* (Ujjeni, Ujjain), *Vidisa*, *Māhisati* (Māhishmati) but also to people from *Pātālīputra* (Patna) as evident from Barhut stupa inscriptions. The *Thaba* (pillars) and *Sūchis* (railing) and stones of *pradakṣhiṇapatha* (circumambulatory path) were donated by the citizens.

Cunningham identified Nanded with Nader in Maharashtra. Buhler and Foucher identified Nadner in Tonk District (Rajasthan). In the neighbourhood of this village is another village of

the same name in Narsinghpur District on the southern bank of the river Narmada, but the same is devoid of any cultural sequence. Thus, the present locality may be identified with *Nadinagara - Nadnagar*.

It was a flourishing centre during the early centuries. In the neighbourhood and a few kilometres upstream on the Narmada (*Nammadus*), is a village Bharkacoha ancient *Bhrigukachha*, phonetically showing likeness with *Barygaza*, which lies by the river mentioned by Periplus c 50 B.C. (P 40). Whether it was the same *Barygaza* referred to by the above unknown author or not is yet to be seen. From the sea, it is up to Tripuri, the river is navigable. It was connected from Tripuri, Vidisha, Eran in the east, Pauni, Ajanta and Ellora from south and from *Ujjyani (Ozene)* via *Saru- Maru (Panguraria)*. Further, it must have been a maritime trade centre. The Vindhyan hills in the north were throbbing with monks and nuns, practising penance with fertile valley catering to their daily needs. On the hills one can find the remains of monasteries, *stūpas* with rock shelters and painted with *Jātaka* tales. Buddhist establishments have been noticed at Talpura, above Saru-Marū Mills, the find-spot of *Asōkan* Rock Edict, Binayga, Hakimkhedi, Bhojpur, Sonari, Kharwai and on the hills of Bhopal, Raisen and Sehore Districts.

Nandaur (23°5'N, 77°26'E) or *Nandur*, discovered by Prof. Shankar Tiwari, identified with *Nandagiri* and *Nandanagar* lies about 22 kms., south of Bhopal on the *water-divide* of the *Betwa (Vetra-vatī)* and Narmada. The semi-circular mound, measuring approximately 150x250 mts with an average height of 13 mts, is surrounded by a mud fortification wall, locally known as *Dhulia Kot*. The periphery of the mound is disturbed because of human vandalism.

The mound is strewn with pottery, notably Ahichhatra X A type, N.B.P., black and red ware and other associated wares, ring-wells, and Gupta structures with bricks, measuring (10"x3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "") Besides, flesh-rubbers of varying designs, terracotta objects, stamping objects, copper ornaments, punch-marked coins with the Sun and Ujjain symbols, uninscribed cast coins with

elephant, tree-in-railing taurine and river symbols, *Tipuri*(Tripuri State), *Sātavāhana* coins with elephant, *Kshātrapa* coins of *Damjadsri*(C150-178 A D), *Bhatridaman*, *Nāga* coins, with bull symbol, coins of *Mitras*, Indo-Sassanian coins

The name *Nandinagar* and *Nandgiri* occur in Sanchi inscriptions, which may not be mistaken for *Nadinagar*(Nadner). Marshall and Buhler identified *Nadinagar* and *Nandinagar* with *Nadner* Mention may be made of *Nandinagarikāya*, *Nadanagiri*, *Nadag* (i) or (ii), (*Nandgiri*) and *Nandinagar* The inhabitants including the nuns *Isidina*(*Rishidatta*), *Vasudatta*, *Uttarimita* (*Uttarmitra*) and *Takripadi*(*Takaripad*) made munificent donations to Sanchi *Stūpa* (Marshall & Buhler 255, 358, 362)

It may further be noted that teak-wood, various semi-precious stones, garnet, agate, carnelian, blood-stone, chalcedony, onyx and opal were in constant demand in Roman empire and it is not unlikely that it was from these places, they found their place to the sea. With increased archaeological activities in Madhya Pradesh, it is more likely that more places will be identified It is gratifying to note that the University of Saugar, Saugar is undertaking excavations recently

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NELAKONDAPALLI

—*Dr. P.V.Parabrahma Sastry*

It is a small town situated about 25 kms. from its district headquarters Khammammet, on the road to Kodad. In course of Archaeological explorations during the past few years, it is found that the place was a Buddhist centre during the early centuries of the Christian era. The provenance of two stone inscriptions also indicates its importance in the medieval period. Another historical town named Konḍapalli near Vijayawada in the Krishna district is also a fort-town of the late medieval period. But Nēlakonḍapalli, which is also called as Koṇḍapalli in inscriptions is more important, in the sense, that its historicity goes back to the beginnings of the Christian era. Probably, this Koṇḍapalli is distinguished from the other, by the prefix Nēla - which means land. Perhaps, this was once a land-fort, whereas the other Koṇḍapalli was a hill-fort. Pending a detailed report on the Archaeological excavations conducted by the State Department of Archaeology and Museums, the following is a brief historical account of the place, as gleaned from the few epigraphs found in the village and other places in the neighbour-hood.

During the reign of the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, (Nēla)koṇḍapalli was the headquarters of an administrative division designated as Koṇḍapalli-300, perhaps consisting of 300 revenue units or villages. The present Huzurnagar, Kodad and Suryapet taluks of the Nalgonda district and part of the Khammam taluk, seem to have been included in the Koṇḍapalli division. Politically, the territory, being on the border adjoining the Vēṅgi kingdom, ruled by the Eastern Chāḷukyas and later in the medieval period by the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa māṇḍalika chiefs, the Kalyāṇa rulers used to keep this district under the administration of military generals under their direct control. Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇa conquered the whole of coastal Andhra from Daksharamam to Nellore some time before A.D.1115, through his able general Anantapāla, to whom the administration of the region was

entrusted Subsequently Anantapāla's nephew, i.e. sister's son Gōvinda-daṇḍanāyaka was posted as the governor of Nēlakonḍapalli-300 Panugallu, the headquarters of the district of Nalgonda in those days was called Pānugallurājya, which was bestowed as hereditary fief on the Telugu Chōḷa chiefs of Kaṇḍūru Thus, Kondapalli and Panugallu regions became contiguous, one administered by the able governor Gōvinda and the other ruled by the Kaṇḍūru Chōḷa chiefs

Vikramāditya VI died in the closing part of AD 1126 and his son Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III succeeded to the Chāḷukya throne of Kalyāṇa. His younger brother Kumāra Tailapa who was enjoying Kōḍūru-rājya in the present Mahaboobnagar district, as *kumara-vṛitti* rose in revolt against the coronated King Bhūlōkamalla Gōvinda daṇḍanāyaka of Koṇḍapalli and Bhīma Chōḷa of Pānugallu seem to have extended their support to the revolting prince Tailapa. The ruling king Bhūlōkamalla directed Kākatīya Prōla II of Anumakoṇḍa to suppress the revolt raised by Kumāra Tailapa and his followers Accordingly Prōla II, as a loyal subordinate, marched with army against the Chōḷa chief Bhīma of Pānugallu Prōla, in this campaign had to face the resistance of Gōvindaraja of Koṇḍapalli also, who came to Pānugallu, taking the side of Bhīma Chōḷa However Prōla, having defeated both Gōvinda and Bhīma made them flee from Pānugallu The king as it seems, merged Koṇḍapalli-300 with the Pānugallurājya and posted another Chōḷa chief named Udayachōḷa as maṇḍalika i.e. governor of Pānugallu and Koṇḍapalli Thus, the division of Koṇḍapalli-300 lost its separate identity in about A.D.1128-30 It was ruled by the Chōḷa chiefs of Pānugallu, Udayana and his descendants. The former is stated, in an inscription found at Koṇḍapalli¹, to have set up a stone sluice to the big tank in A.D. 1176 In an inscription found at Sirkonda about 50 kms., from Nelakondapalli, dated A.D. 1148² certain Kēṭaya of Pallava origin is stated to have obtained Koṇḍapalli-nāḍu as sub-fief from Udayana Chōḷa mahārāja, who was a subordinate of the Chāḷukya king Jagadēkamalla At this time, it seems, although the region was called as Koṇḍapalli-nāḍu, its capital town was at Sirikoṇḍa, the find spot of the inscription

During the Kākatiya period, Koṇḍapalli again was included in the territory of the Rēcherla-Reddi chiefs of Pillalamarri, near Suryapet. An inscription found at Kondapalli dated A.D.1240 refers to the Goddess Prōlakamma and other deities, to whom the Rēcherla chief Pasāyita Gaṇapatireddi is stated to have made some gifts. As there is more than one chief in the Rēcherla family, bearing this name, it is difficult to identify the donor of this record.

After the Kākatiyas, the region of Nēlakondapalli passed on to the Musunūri chief Kāpayanayāka, who, from his Pillalamarri inscription, is known to have driven out the Muslims from Warangal in about A.D. 1335. It was under the Velama rulers of Rāchakoṇḍa for some period. Then according to one inscription found there, it is surmised that Krishṇadēvarāya conquered this area and entrusted its administration to his famous general Rāyasam Koṇḍamarusayya, who was also the governor of Koṇḍapalli, near Bezavada.

Under the Qutub Shahis, Nelakondapalli was included in the Suryapet division with separate Tahsil. Kaṇcharla Gōpanna, later on Bhakta Rāmadāsa, was born in this village.

1 *Hyd Arch Series* No.3.

2. *Inscriptions of A.P. Nalgonda District*, Volume-II, p.78-82

ON THE OCCURRENCE OF RAMAPITHECUS INDICUS A PRECURSOR OF HOMO ERECTUS, PLIOCENE SIWALIKS OF INDIA

—K.N.Prasad

Abstract

Numerous significant fossil remains of primates have been recovered from the Siwalik formations near Haritalyangar, Himachal Pradesh. A Progressive hominid *Ramapithecus Indicus*, possibly a precursor of *Homo erectus* (1.1 m.y*) is described from the early Pliocene Dhokpathar litho units of Haritalyangar. It is preferred that *R. Indicus* became extinct by mid-pliocene when *Homo erectus* spread through out the world. The present find, *R. Indicus* is expected to bridge the gap (6-10 m.y*) between the first known hominid *Ramapithecus* and *Homo erectus*.

Introduction

The Neogene Sediments of the Siwalik formations have yielded recognisable dental remains of dryopithecines and possible hominids. Re-examination of the hominids from Haritalyangar by the author in 1962, 1970, 1971 and 1975 has thrown new light on the correlation of individual finds and their systematic position. The present significant find has a bearing on the *Homo erectus* group of Pliocene. It is generally agreed that *Ramapithecus* is one of the earliest hominids to be recognised from end Miocene. Its relationship with *Kenyapithecus* and *grocile Australopithecus* is sometimes debated. However, the early hominids have provided a basis for critical assessment of the distribution of proto-hominids during the time stratigraphic period embracing Neogene in India and Africa. The described new species from early Pliocene Siwaliks is considered as a precursor of *Homo erectus* group, which spread throughout the world, temperate and tropical zones during the intervening period 0.6 - 1.0 million years.

* m.y = million years

Family · Hominidae

Genus Ramapithecus Lewis, 1934

Type species *Ramapithecus indicus* n.s.p.

Designated Types · *Sivapithecus Sivaleasis* (Lydekker) Prasad , Fragment of maxilla with first, second and third molars, G.S.I, 18064; Palaeontology, Vol 7, Pt 1, pl 20, fig 1.a, 1.b (1964).

Sivapithecus Sivaleasis.(Lydekker) Prasad, Last Lower Premolar G S.I.18069, Palaeontology, Vol.7,1, pl.20, fig 7(1964)

Dryopithecus punjabicus Pilgrim , Prasad

Upper third molar; G S I 18068 , Palaeontology, Vol 7, 1, pl 20, fig. 5, (1964).

Hypodigm . Type maxilla, upper third molar and last lower premolar, Locality Haritalyangar (31°32' : 76°38'), Himachal Pradesh, India

Age · Pliocene Dhokpathan Formation, Siwalik, dated about 5.5 - 6.0 m.y

Diagnosis

Differs from *Dryopithecus* and *Australopithecus* in the following features .

Molars are almost equal in size, proportions of the molars very much smaller than *Australopithecus*; tooth crenulation less complicated, no evidence of cingula; curved or parabolic dental arcade Differs from *Dryopithecus* in having progressive broader molars with widely spaced cusps for larger occlusal surface, absence of cingula, Arched palate with arcuate arrangement of tooth row with slightly reduced third molar. Anteroposterior premolar length equal. Differs from *R Punjabicus* and *R.breviestris* in the less complex patterns of molar crenulation, absence of cingula or carabelli cusps.

COMPARATIVE MEASUREMENTS OF UPPER DENTITION (IN MILLIMETRES)

(Modified after Koenigswald, 1964)

UPPER DENTITION	M1		M2		M3	
Australopithecinae	L	B	L	B	L	B
Sterkfontain (a)	12.5	13.8	13.7	15.5	13.1	15.4
Swartkrans (a)	13.8	14.5	14.7	15.9	15.1	16.9
Olduvai	18.0	15.5	21.0	17.0	21.0	16.0
Hominidae						
Pithec modjokertensia	12.1	13.7	13.6	15.2	10.8	14.0
Sinanthropus pekinensis (a)	10.9	12.5	10.9	12.7	09.6	11.5
Australian (a)	11.4	12.8	10.9	13.1	10.0	12.3
American White (a)	10.7	11.8	09.2	11.5	08.6	10.6
Ramapithecus Indicus n sp	12.0	12.0	12.0	13.0	12.0	12.0

Description

The material under description a fragment of maxilla with three molars (18064) and isolated upper third molar (18068) was recovered by the author from the clay bands about 1000 metres above the type Nagri Section at Hantalyangar in Himachal Pradesh Geological setting and faunal association has already been dealt with by Prasad (1964) and the litho units have been dated about 5.5 to 6.0 my Recent discoveries have indicated the early differentiation of hominids from late Miocene Ramapithecus also known from the Nagri sediments of Hantalyangar has been compared with Australopithecines in a number of suggestive papers by Simons (1969) The isolated upper third molar and the maxilla with three molars were earlier assigned to a dryopithecine for lack of comparative material However, the progressive characters of dental elements and the disposition of the maxilla (parabolic) precludes inclusion under a dryopithecine From the occlusal features, it is inferred that the lower jaw would not have been dryopithecine in character The three molars worn, of almost equal size show low cusps with a flat occlusal surface with adjacent teeth showing interstitial

wear The wider spacing of the trigon cusps with vertical slopes of the crown and vestigial (?) metacone recall some of the advanced Homo of the quaternary The isolated upper molar quite significantly indicates characters that are more advanced than *R punjabicus* and *R.brevirestris* and possibly adumbrates as a precursor to the *Homo erectus* group The last lower premolar (8.0 mm.) indicates the antero-posterior length equal and relatively molarised Absence of pelvic bones or other skeletal material precludes inclusion under *Homo erectus* Nevertheless, the critical evaluation of the maxilla with the contained molars appear to justify inclusion under a new species *Ramapithecus indicus* - a precursor of late Pliocene Homo

Remains of *Australopithecus* are not known from the Siwaliks of India though, they were extant in East and South Africa during late Pliocene and lower Pleistocene (Tobias-1970). Undoubted remains of *Homo erectus* from quaternary are known from different sites in Europe, Africa, China and Java The oldest known questionable *Homo* species is from Kanapoi, Lake Rudolph, Kenya (Fleming, 1976) It is dated about 4.0 m.y. *Australopithecines* from Lethagom are assigned to 5.5 m.y The present find *R indicus* is expected to bridge the gap (6 to 10 m.y.) between *Ramapithecus* and *Homo erectus*.

It is difficult to conceive an evolutionary trend from *Ramapithecus* to *Australopithecus* in view of the enormous increase in the size of the molars and maxillary disposition in the latter. Therefore, it is pointed out that progressive *Ramapithecus* may be a precursor of the late Pliocene *Homo Kenyapithecus* with its premolar-molar-canine morphology somewhat different from *Ramapithecus*, may be a late Miocene precursor of *Australopithecus* extant in South and East Africa. *Homo* was fully differentiated when *Australopithecine* populations inhabited most of South and East Africa during the two to five million year gap and therefore the present assessment assumes considerable significance At any rate *Homo* with its bipedal terrestrial habit and its genesis during Pliocene in a retreating forest environment under a tropical climatic setting in the Afro-Asiatic region. It is highly probable that *Ramapithecus Indicus* became extinct by mid-pliocene, when *Homo erectus* spread throughout the world, a feature recorded by fossil evidence.

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Ramapithecus indicus sp.nov.(GSI.18064), 1a. Occlusal view of molars, 1b Side View x 2

TERRACOTTA COFFINS IN LATE PROTO HISTORIC ANDHRA

—Dr. B.Subrahmanyam
&
E.Sivanagi Reddy

The formation of ideas on various aspects of life among ancient men in their primitive stage can be studied well from the rock art of palaeolithic men as well as the terracotta art of proto-historic men. It appears that the proto-historic man possessed some sort of ideological and spiritual ideas, emphasised through Terracotta objects. From a persistent and systematic study of such Terracottas, one can visualise the various cultural aspects of man and society during this period.

The proto-historic period in Andhra broadly consists of two cultural phases namely, the neolithic or neolithic-chalcolithic and Iron age or megalithic. In fact, the art of Terracotta sarcophagi is conspicuously absent in the neolithic phase but in the later phase of this culture, terracotta urns in various shapes are reported from burials at places like Hulikal, Ileej, Veerapuram, Polakonda, Chinnamarur, Ramapuram, Belum caves etc. The urns at Hulikal and Ileej are of special nature.

Excavations at Hulikal¹ in Anantapur District brought to light an urn of moderate size with flared rim and globular body having a lid. The lid is a shallow bowl of black ware, with tubular spout. Here is provided an opening for the urn concealed through a tubular spout of the lid, probably for facilitating transmission of soul after death or reincarnation of the soul, which seems to be the precursor of (the symbolic representation), the port-hole on the orthostat of cist burial of Megalithic period.

At Ileej², a globular urn of red-ware was cut horizontally into two halves. Skull and other bones were put in the lower half and covered by the upper half of the pot. Use of urns in burial practices indicates the influence of Deccan Chalcolithic cultures.

In Andhra Pradesh, a good number of megalithic burials excavated at various places like Uppalapadu, Nagarjunakonda, Janampet, Sankhavaram, Peddamarur, Bethani, Eleswaram, Jonnawada, Satanikota, Serupalle, Chinnamarur, Chagatur, Irladinne, Kadambapur, Agiripalle and Tenner brought to light different types of **Sarcophagi**. An examination of the burials at the above places reveals that the occurrence of sarcophagi is not a matter of general rule or standard practice for any particular burial whether it is a cist, pit, cairn or dolmen, for, the sarcophagi are generally found in all types of burials though not in all the burials. For example, out of 30 burials opened at Uppalapadu, only few burials have been reported to be having **Terracotta Coffins**. At Serupalle and at Peddamarur only two cist burials revealed sarcophagi out of nine burials excavated. Further, it is not clear whether the sarcophagi are meant for elite families or big elite of the society, who were economically rich or whether it was a tribal custom followed by a particular tribe, though they lived along with other tribes sharing the same environment.

Before arriving at a satisfactory explanation, based on hypothesis, it is necessary to study the various forms of the **sarcophagi** so far unearthed, their distribution and their eschatological beliefs behind this custom.

At Bayyaram³ in Khammam district, a long urn more or less pyriform in shape, having three solid conical stems or legs (plate-I), similar to the legged vessels of Chinnamarur in chalcolithic context and legged pots of Uppalapadu in megalithic burials, has been reported. Similar types are also reported from Mottur in Tamilnadu⁴.

At Peddamarur⁵, three types of sarcophagi are reported from a four chambered cist burial. Of these one is of red-ware, with application of fine slip over the body and the remaining of coarse red. The red slipped sarcophagus is barrel shaped and rectangular in plan and pentagonal in cross section (plate-II). A door or port hole is provided at one end with a lid similar to the specimen reported from Maski⁶. The second sarcophagus of coarse red-ware

looks oval in shape or boat shape in its outline and pointed at both the ends(plate-III) It is given a light red slip and decorated with double bands of multiple concentric lines over both the tapering ends. A port hole or an opening is provided at the centre with a lid The third sarcophagus is hand made with oblong ends and wheel made legs. It has six legs in two rows It is decorated with an applique design of finger impression below the rim(plate-IV) Interestingly, at the southern end, a hand made Terracotta bovine animal with a long and sturdy horn is luted as if the animal carries the coffin

At Serupalle⁷ in a chambered cist burial, one ill fired small tub like Terracotta sarcophagus without legs is found in the first chamber Probably, it was meant for a child as can be surmised by its size In the second chamber, an eight legged well fired sarcophagus was kept(plate-V) Thin red ochre colour was applied over its body. The entire body is hand made, except for leg portions The hollow legs are arranged in two rows No lid is provided.

At Chittoor and Irlabanda⁸, Chittoor district, legged sarcophagi were reported in dolmenoid cists Implements like spear heads and swords are found along with skeletal remains

At Gajjalakonda⁹, Kurnool district, Sarcophagi with or without legs, were unearthed from a number of pit burials. Some are even placed on stands Another important feature of the site is the absence of metal objects.

At Bethani¹⁰, Guntur district, a good number of sarcophagi are brought to light from sand bed deposits A four legged well-burnt sarcophagus is a peculiar specimen in the collection Legged sarcophagi are also reported from Kunnattur¹¹ and Sanur¹²

At Sankhavaram¹³, in Cuddapah district, a ram shaped sarcophagus with six legs is reported It has a rope design all around, below the rim portion of the body. Similar decorative designs are seen on the body of the sarcophagi from the cist burials at Peddamarur and

Tenner The lid is arranged in two separate pieces. The front end rises in the form of an animal's neck terminating in a socket into which it is fitted the detachable head of a ram like animal with curved horns. The hind part is round. Similarly a cow shaped sarcophagus is reported from Kerala¹⁴

At Tenner¹⁵ Krishna district long tub like terracotta sarcophagi are brought to light(plate-VI). Each sarcophagus consists of two halves. The two halves are pulled apart and gaps in between were filled up with pot sherds, so that, they can be extended corresponding to the size of the human body. The sarcophagi are covered with convex lids. The longest sarcophagus measures 1.94 x 0.50 x 0.50 metres. It has 12 hollow stemmed type of legs in two rows. An applique rope design occurs on the shoulders. The sarcophagi were provided with perforations at the bottom, so as to serve as vent-holes.

At Agiripalle¹⁶, Krishna district in one of the cist burials, a terracotta sarcophagus with six legs is noticed, at a higher level to the central cist chamber(plate-VII). The coffin is placed in north-south orientation and measures 1.37 x 0.45 x 0.45 metres. The thickened rim is decorated with thumb impression design. Another well burnt sarcophagus with six legs is reported in the same stratigraphical context. It measures 1.12 x 0.45 x 0.50 metres.

At Jonnawada¹⁷, Nellore district, boat shaped sarcophagi are brought to light from rock cut cist burials(plate-VIII). The burial types are unique in the region and parallels can be drawn from Kerala.

Now, it is necessary to examine whether this practice of using terracotta sarcophagus is indigenous or a custom borrowed from outside, like Mesopotamia, where terracotta coffins in burial practices are reported as early as B.C. 3000¹⁸. But in the Indian context their occurrence is ranging from 1st millenium B.C. to the early centuries of Christian era.

In Andhra Pradesh, there are two distinct river valley systems one is the Godavari and the other is the Krishna-Tungabhadra Valley In the Godavari valley, most of the burials exhibited rock cut tubs instead of terracotta sarcophagi, whereas in Krishna-Tungabhadra valley right from upper reaches to lower reaches in Andhra Pradesh, the burials show terracotta sarcophagi Interestingly, excavations at Jadiganahalli¹⁹, in Karnataka revealed that all pit burials have legged sarcophagi Similarly, at Bethani and Tenner on the south-east coast of Andhra, a good number of sarcophagi are reported

Coming to the religious significance of these sarcophagi in various shapes like elephant from Eleswaram(plate-IX), Buffalo from Peddamarur(plate-X), and ram from Sankhavaram, we find parallel examples in Hindu art For example, elephant is the vehicle of God Indra where as the buffalo stands for God Yama and the ram shaped one at Sankhavaram to God Agni, one of the *Dikpālakas* or guardian deities At Eleswaram, the boat shaped bowl in black and red ware, containing skeletal remains, represents the boat-a vehicle meant to cross the river which is popularly pronounced as *Ariga* even today Thus, a study of the symbolic representations of the various types of Sarcophagi enables us to understand that the megalithic folk possessed some eschatological beliefs corresponding to the Hindu religious beliefs at a later date This selection of shapes probably represents the five elements of nature(*Pañchabhūtas*) which served as means of transport or communication to the other world

Generally each culture possesses its own characteristic features, whereas, the megalithic culture, though a homogeneous one, yet consisted of a number of tribes having a variety of creeds, specially exhibited in their burial practices As such, a variety of megalithic burials are found in a burial complex Recent explorations and excavations clearly confirm this observation.

Basing on mere physical features of the burials, it is not possible to assign them to any particular tribe, unless we study the contents of the grave For example, a cairn circle may contain sarcophagi, urns and other grave goods, but it does not mean that all cairns should

contain the same materials. Similar, is the case with cist or any other type. Thus, in a burial complex sarcophagi may or may not be found in a cist, pit, cairn, dolmen and menhir. Therefore it is observed that, though various types of burials existed at one and the same place, each type of burial was contemporaneous with one or the other type and also there is a geographical contiguity as far as their location is concerned.

The available archaeological evidence, however, suggests that, the disposal of the dead, in a terracotta coffin is a religious custom of a particular tribe in the Megalithic society. Otherwise, all burials must contain sarcophagi invariably. Hence, it is quite reasonable to infer, that it is a religious custom adopted by a particular tribe. This tribe probably entered into India along with other sister tribes from Chaldes (region of Iraq) via sea-route in course of migrations.

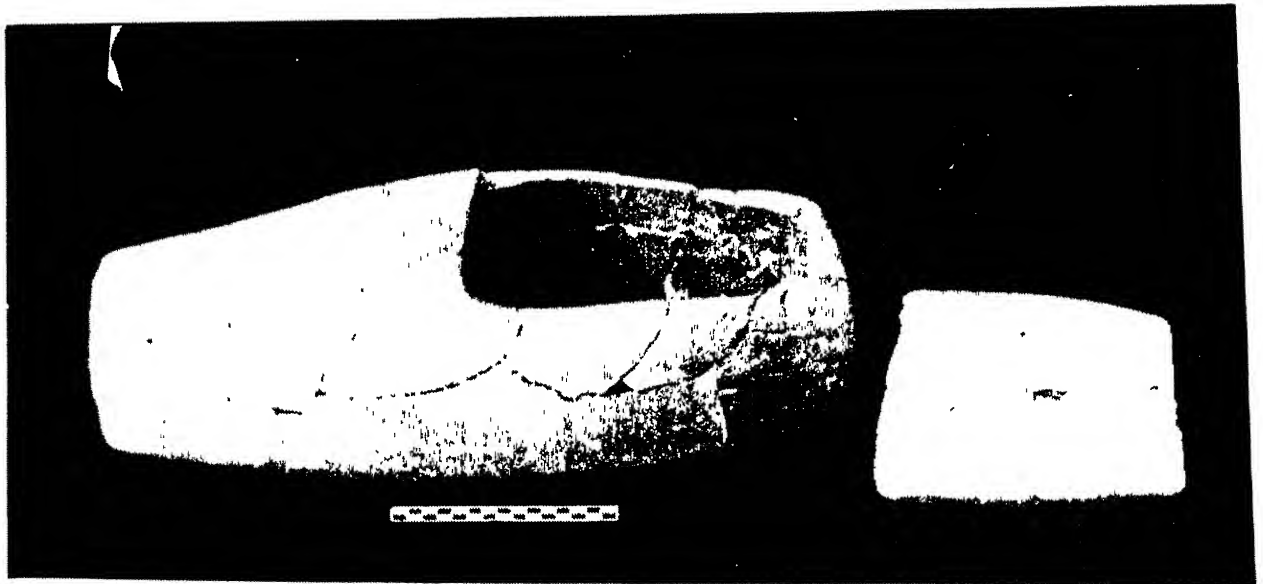
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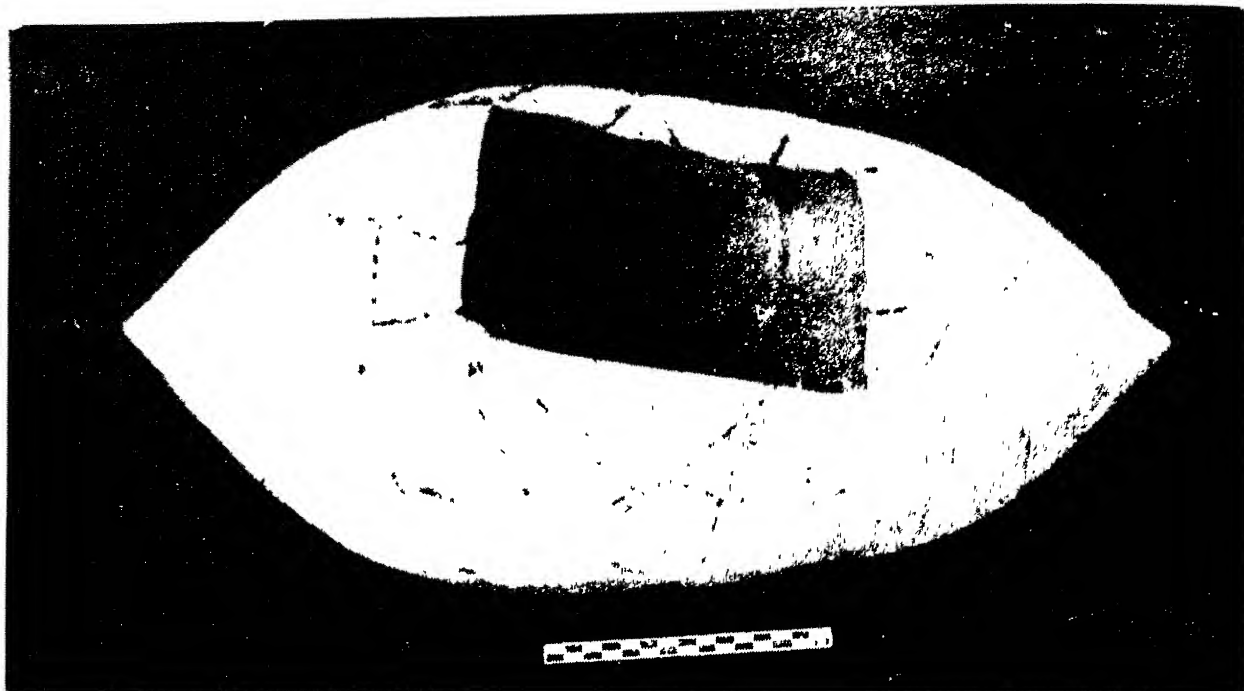
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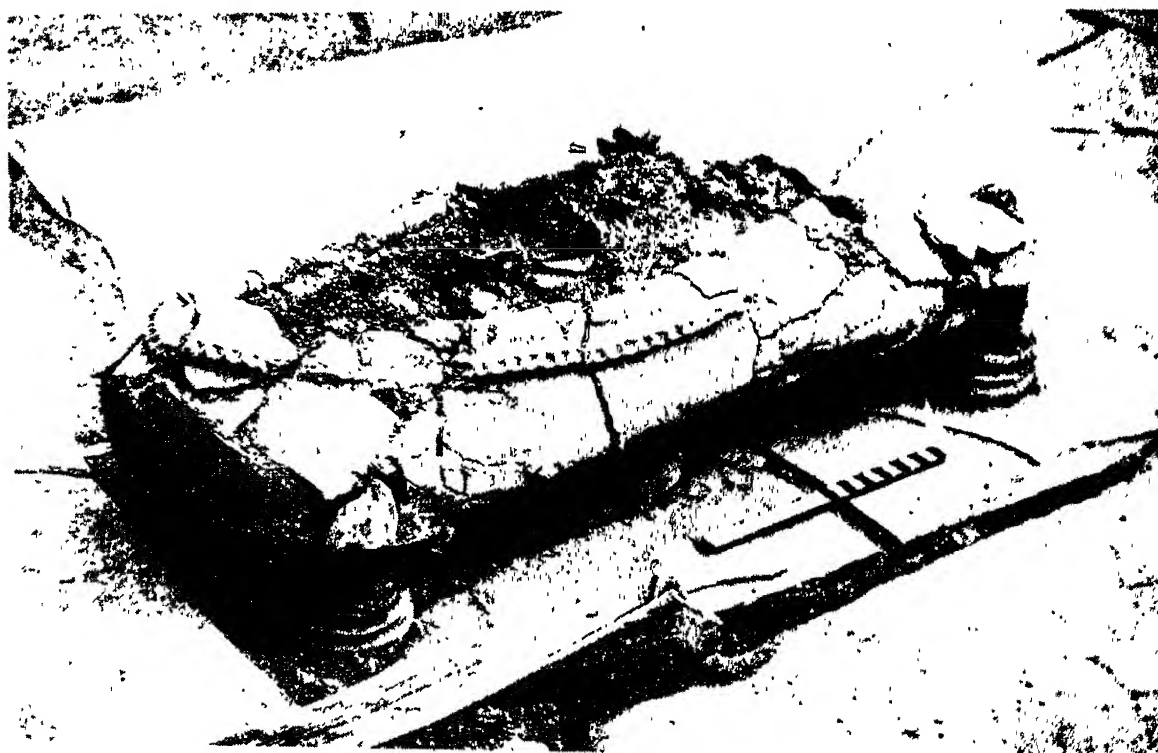
Pl.I. Legged Urn - Bayyaram(v), Khammam Dist.



Pl.II. Barrel of Post-Box shaped Sarcophagus - Peddamarur(v), Mahabubnagar Dist.



Pl.III. Boat shaped Sarcophagus - Peddamarur(v), Mahabubnagar Dist.



Pl.IV. Six legged Sarcophagus - Peddamarur(v), Mahabubnagar Dist.



Pl.V. Cist Chambers showing Sarcophagi - Serupalle(v), Mahabubnagar Dist.



Pl VI. Legged Sarcophagus - Tenner(v) Krishna Dist.



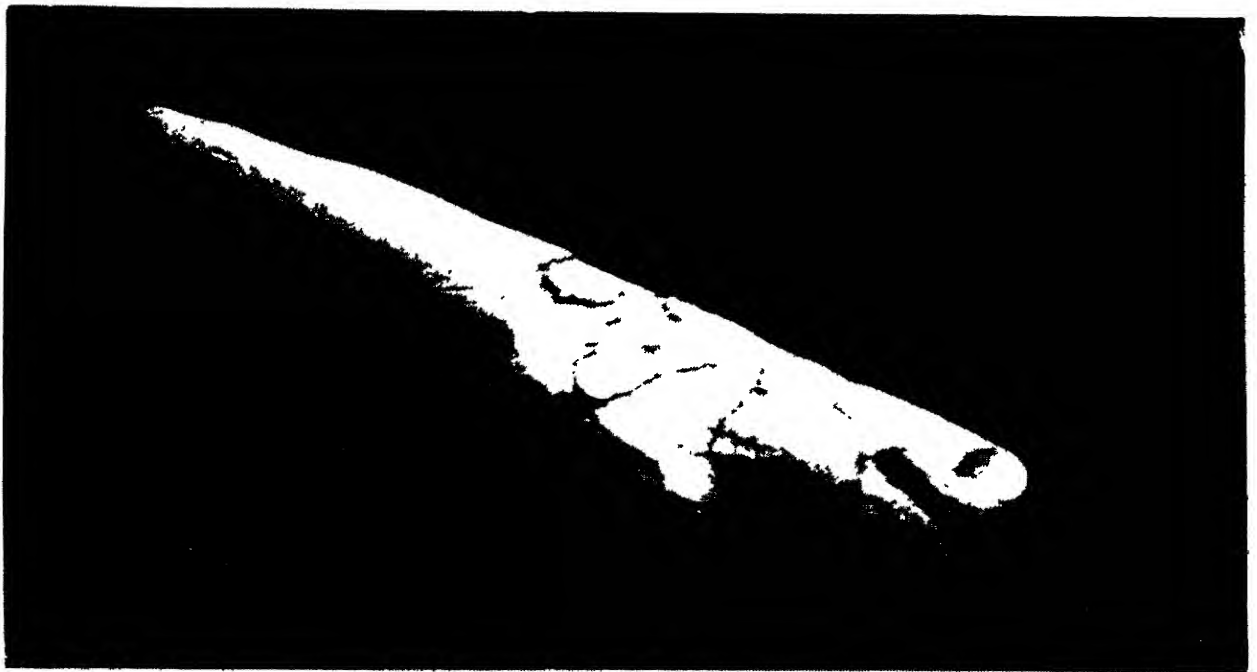
Pl VII Legged Sarcophagus - Agiripalle(v), Krishna Dist.



Pl.VIII. Rock-cut Pit showing tub shaped Sarcophagus - Jonnawada(v), Nellore Dist.



Pl IX Elephant shaped Sarcophagus - Eleswaram(v), Nalgonda Dist.



pl X Buffalo shaped Sarcophagus - Peddamarur(v), Mahabubnagar Dist.

MĀNDHĀTA

THE IDEAL UNIVERSAL MONARCH

—Dr. C. Sivaramamurti

The *Bhōjaprabandha*, the story of Bhōja, which is full of historical anachronisms, bringing together all the famous poets in Bhōja's court viz., Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Bāṇa, Mayūra, Daṇḍin and several others reckoned great, a feature that has no bearing on the present dissertation but is stated only to show the nature of the text itself, has however, a very important verse describing the greatest monarchs of each aeon in a regular order, Māndhātā who was an ornament to the first-*Kṛitayuga*, the annihilator of the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, Rāma, who built a wondrous bridge over the ocean in the second-*Trētāyuga*; Yudhisṭhira, Krishna and others including Arjuna the beloved one of the Almighty-in the third -*Dvāpara*. None of them carried the earth along with them, when they left for heaven. Bhōja, however addresses his uncle and tells him surely that the earth would accompany him to heaven when he leaves for it. This was an indirect taunt at his trying to kill his nephew in his cupidity for the kingdom that he loved to rule by usurping. "*Māndhātā Sa nahipatiḥ Kṛityugālaṅkārabhūto gataḥ sētur yēna mahōdadhau viraṇṇitaḥ kvasau daśasyāntakāḥ, anyē chāpi Yudhisṭhiraprabhṛitavo yata divaṁ bhūpatē maikēnapi samamā gatā vasumati nūnam tvaya yasyati*" The story goes that the king was so touched that he called back his nephew and made him the king. Māndhātā, here described as the ornament of *Kṛitayuga Kṛita*, is among the aeons considered the golden age, famed for the highest character of people of all ranks, high and low. The king Māndhātā himself set an example of what an ideal ruler should be. He was the emperor who has been the ideal of sovereignty that ruled the entire Universe.

Māndhātā was born under extraordinary circumstances as we have it in the *Vishṇupurāṇa* and *Harivaṁśa*. Born of the solar race, he was the ancestor of the very embodiment of *dharma*, Rāma who lived in *Trētāyuga*, the second of the great aeons. He was the son of

Yuvanasva, who was longing for a son for years and had not the good fortune of begetting one. At last with the help of powerful Ṛishis, who performed sacrifices of great potency and placed vessel of consecrated water that had the efficacy to give him a Universal monarch (*chakravartī*), as his son was placed on the sacrificial altar. Feeling very thirsty at midnight Yuvanasva, without the knowledge of the purpose and its potency and mistaking it to be a jar of ordinary water, quenched his thirst by drinking it off. The efficacy of this water was so great that though it was intended for the queen who was to have it, a child was born to him miraculously, emerging from his right side. The miraculous birth of Buddha as depicted, from the right side of Māya is only an adaptation of this version, even as the story of Māndhātā itself was adopted in the *Māndhātū Jātaka*. The Buddhist version is drawn from the earlier Brāhmanical version. When the child was born, the sages wondered, who would nurture him as a mother could. Indra presented himself giving his finger to the child to suckle and said 'he shall suck me' '*mām aya dhasyati*'. It is from this and based on this utterance of Indra, the very name of Māndhātā was given. Māndhātā ruled wherever he desired to rule all over the world. His wheel of power moved ahead wherever he wanted it to. He married Bīnduma and had several daughters and sons. In the *Mahābhārata* we have a story of the famous sage Saubhari, who performed tremendous penance in the river Yamuna and finally, attracted by the movement of the fishes and their large progeny, conceived a desire to marry and beget, came out of the water and begged of Māndhātā for a daughter of his in marriage; and when the king, beholding the aged decrepit sage, and unable to refuse him and contemplating on the unjust action he would be committing by giving away his young and beautiful daughter to one so advanced in age, requested him to personally place his case before any of his daughters. Transforming himself into a handsome youth, the sage won the hearts of all the princesses, who all married him. By the potency of his penance, the sage could satisfy them all by assuming his form individually for each one of them, like Krishna in his *rāsallā*, and had

mansions created for each one of them to live in comfort. All this only adds colour to the glory of the glorious king that Māndhātā was.

Māndhātā has been famous not only in Brāhmanical but in Buddhist lore as well. He was entitled to the seven gems(*ratnas*). These are the wheel, elephant, horse, gem, queen, the prince and the minister. When he clenched his left hand and touched it with his right, there was a shower of jewels. Many thousands of years he was a prince and then a reigning sovereign. His feeling for animals was such that he banished from his realm, as vividly described by Kshēmēndra in his *Avadanakalālata*, certain sages who enfeebled, by their curse, noisy cranes that disturbed their penance. The cranes might be noisy but they were after all innocent birds and sages, who were expected to have patience and control over their senses, could not be pardoned for their cruelty in pronouncing a curse on the birds that deprived them of the power of their wings and flight and made them creep and crawl on the ground. He had only to wish for anything, clench his left hand and touch it with the right when there was a shower of all that he wanted. Showers of grain, cotton and cloth, he caused in his kingdom to relieve his subjects of the drudgery of husbandry and weaving. Seven days he caused a continuous downpour of jewels and gold. He wanted his people to be happy and contented and lead a life of ease but not toil and sweat, and worry over petty things. In spite of Indra, whether he wanted it or not, the clouds would rain and rain for him.

It is in this context we have to take the instance of Raghu, who brought down a rain of gold in his treasury. Kautsa, the disciple of ṛishi Varataṁtu came to Raghu in an inopportune moment, Raghu, who had triumphed over the entire world, collected its treasures from all over, performed a magnificent sacrifice, the *Viśvajit*, world-conquest sacrifice, and given away to the last cowrie he had, with the result, even to welcome a learned young pupil he had in his hand only an earthen vessel of water, a golden one being absent, everything having been given away. The pupil, understanding the situation, was about to take leave of him by telling the king

that he had come in an inopportune moment, when importuned by the king he had to reveal him that he had come to request of him a huge amount of fourteen billion pieces of gold as fee for his teacher, who originally refused to have anything from him, but on being importuned to the point of irritation, asked for this almost impossible amount. Raghu, who could never send away a supplicant without satisfying him, requested him to stay for a day, promising him to fulfil his desire. decided to collect it from Kubēra, as he found the earth had already yielded her everything, he ordered his bow and arrows to be got ready in his chariot to attack the Lord of wealth the next morning, and lo and behold before dawn, his treasurers came running to inform him of a great rain of gold in the treasury with heaps of gold coins touching the ceiling. The king would not touch even one of them and keep them for himself, nor would the disciple take a single coin more than what was required for his teacher. Thus the whole treasury had to accompany the pupil as the astonished people, watched this rare spectacle. Here Kautsa sincerely feels and expresses his wonder and admiration. 'It is no wonder, O king! that to great ruler, who rules his people with justice and devotion, the earth yields her all, but your case is beyond all comprehension since for you, even the heavens have yielded their all

"Kiṁ atra chitraṁ yadī Kamasur bhur vṛtte sthitasvadhīpatēḥ prajānām, achiñtanīvas tu tava prabhavōmanihitaṁ dyaur anī yēna dughdha", Raghuvaṁśa 5.33. This is the version of the rain of gold, and this rain of gold is such a wonderful thing that Kālidāsa specially mentions such clouds as rain, such impossible celestial treasures as an offering as āscharya mēghas. *"gaṇdhōdagraṁ tadanu vavṛishub pushpān āscharyamēghaḥ"* *Raghuvaṁśa-17, 89.* Māṇdhātā is specially shown in an early second century B.C. sculpture of the Sātavāhana period from Jaggayyapeta, clenching his left hand and touching it with the right, and there is a rain of gold of the punch-marked variety, rectangular and square, in a regular downpour of coins one after another, in quick succession and in several streams as they fall. This is an imposing sight and Māṇdhātā himself is surrounded by the seven jewels, all shown around him. This is the most magnificent sculpture and probably the earliest to represent Māṇdhātā. This unique sculpture is

in the Madras Museum The glory of Māndhātā is again and again represented in Sātavāhana carvings from Amaravati, in those of the Ikshvāku period from Nagarjunakonda, in Gummididurru and several other places in the Krishna valley

The story goes that Māndhātā desired to be the monarch of the entire Universe He wanted sovereignty of the territory of not only the mortals but even of the immortals Pūrvavidēhadvīpa, Aparagōḍavyadvīpa and Uttarakuru he ruled for very long. He had only to think of sovereignty over these territories to become master of them all Finding from his attendant, the Yaksha Divaukasa, that there remained no more unsubdued Dvīpas, he proceeded towards the abode of the thirty three gods On the way five hundred Ṛishis delayed the progress of his hosts and, learning of this from his minister, he deprived them of their matted locks and commanded them to march in front of him with bows and arrows in their hands They were released from this odious task, only by the intervention of the queen, who took kindly towards them Later, his path was obstructed by water-inhabiting Nāgas whom he subdued similarly by his command. Finally, he ascended the summit of Sumeru and saw the divine trees Pārijāta and Kovidara, under which, the thirty-three gods enjoyed themselves to their hearts' content. Here, under the trees he asked his followers to enjoy themselves like the gods Finally he entered Sudarśana-the city of the gods, and Sudharma, their hall, for, seats were arranged for the gods, of which the last was for the mortal king. But Māndhātā desired half of the seat on Sakra and immediately Sakra gave up a half of his throne for him. His glory however, was so great that when he occupied the seat, he was as lustrous as the king of the gods In this manner he continued to enjoy heavenly bliss for so long Many Sakras, with their merit spent out, gave up their seats to fresh successors, but Māndhātā always continued Finally, there was a war between the gods and the demons, in which the former were worsted by the latter. Māndhātā stopped Sakra who was preparing to meet the demons, himself proceeded with a large following and twanged his mighty bow That sound was enough

Māṇdhātā was a great and just ruler. The only fault of his was his overstepping the limits of desire when he fell, and the story has also its moral that even one of the highest merited like Māṇdhātā could fall, if he erred, and it is to show how merit could secure whatever one desired, but even that has a limit, and desire beyond a limit was fraught with evil consequences. Māṇdhātā represents both. His was the power of merit and there it failed when his cupidity reached its zenith its limit. Māṇdhātā is the greatest ruler that was conceived in India as just, as full of merit, as exceeding Indra in his lustre, with only one frailty as a human being. One should excuse a single fault in a vast treasure of merit like Māṇdhātā, even as Kālidāsa says that one small speck in the moon makes no difference and cannot detract from the charm of the moon that has so many wondrous qualities. *ekō hi dōshō guṇasannipātē nimajjatindōḥ kiraṇēshvivaṅkāḥ* - *Kumārasambhava* 13. And one small speck of a fault in Māṇdhātā does not detract from his treasure house of several innumerable good qualities.

KINGSHIP AS REVEALED IN THE KĀMĀNDAKA NĪTISĀRA

—Dr. R. Gangadhara Sastry

The Kāmāndakanīṭisāra is a treatise on the statecraft in ancient India. The sage Kāmāndaka composed this work in an epic form; commentators regard it as a great Kāvya. Whatever be the form and the period to which it belongs, it is an indisputable fact that this book reveals the highly advanced ancient political thought of Indians.

Regarding the date of this treatise, a variety of opinions have been expressed by scholars¹. It is an accepted fact that, the treatise is primarily based on the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya². In fact, it is interesting to note that at the beginning of his work, Kāmāndaka acknowledges Vishnugupta^{2a} as his master and expresses his deep gratitude to him. He praises his master's work in many respects and describes Kauṭilya as one who created the science of polity. Kāmāndaka says that his work "*Nīṭisāra*" is just like the nectar that emerged out of churning the ocean of *Arthasāstra*³.

The book contains twenty Cantos and thirty-six sub-sections (*prakaraṇas*). Here it is essential to note that Kāmāndaka does not go beyond the general maxims of *Nīti*⁴. He has not dealt with a number of very important subjects like general administration⁵, control of trade and commerce and the administration of Justice. Anyhow, it highlights the subject of kingship which is the main concern of this paper.

Kingship in ancient India was believed to be elective at least in some cases⁶. Although, the early rulers were elected, kingship, in course of time, became hereditary. In this context A. S. Altekar states "The arguments advanced to show that it continued to be elective in some states down to even the 8th century A.D. are hardly convincing". But in *Śukranīti* and the *Kāmāndakanīṭisāra*, there is no reference to the election of the king.

branches of learning for the king. This is probably due to the fact that he was expected to command the army in the battlefield, himself.

The king is expected to maintain his equanimity all the time, as his decisions would affect the lives of the people directly and immediately. Kāmāṇḍaka enumerated three vices arising out of hot temper (*krōdha*) and four arising out of lust (*kāma*). He also does not find substantial positive points in favour of hunting and so, advises the king to have a separate well-grounded hunting ground of one half-yōjana in length and breadth²⁰.

Kauṭilya emphasises that control of the organs of sense is the cause of proficiency in vidyas and discipline should be attained through giving up the six inimical tendencies viz, lust, hot temper, greed, vanity (*māna*), haughtiness or insolence (*mada*), and overjoy. He makes the point very clear that the purpose of all śāstras is the restraint of the senses and if this were not achieved a king is sure to perish.

Security of the King

The security of the king is given a very important place in the Indian political thought by the ancient scholars. It is recognised that the king can not protect the people and the state, unless he himself is well protected. It is described in many smṛtis that the king is the root of the state, and he should be protected by all means²¹. Towards the attainment of this goal many measures have been suggested by our Smṛtis. Kauṭilya mentions that the king should first secure his personal safety against his own sons and wife²². Bhāradvāja²³ compares the prince with a crab, which eats away its own progenitor. Kauṭilya and Sōmadevasūri compare royal family containing a disaffected prince with a worm-eaten piece of wood which crumbles down soon²⁴. Kāmāṇḍaka²⁵ infact, repeats the statement of Kauṭilya²⁶ that seven kings met death in their queen's chambers by the stratagems of the queens or those that were incited by them. For example it is noted that Bhādrasēna was killed by his brother, who hid himself in the chamber of the queen; the king of Karusa was killed by his own son with the help of the queen in her bedroom, as he was enraged at the king's promise to give the kingdom to the son of another queen.

Manu warns the king against poisoning. Even Kautilya warns that the king should partake food that is well examined and prepared by the servants that are trustworthy and who know the proper timing of dinning²⁷ It is recorded that the king of Kāsī was killed by his own queen, who mixed fried rice with poison, pretending it to be honey. Kāmāndaka explicitly makes it clear that a part of the food meant for the king should be first cast into fire and offered to birds. He goes even a step further and offers a fine suggestion that the cook and doctors giving medicine for mixing with food and antidotes should be made to taste the food and then only the king himself should eat.

Kāmāndaka also maintains that the king should be careful in his harem, when receiving presents sent by others, while sitting, in conveyance while riding a horse, or while travelling in a boat and while attending festivals²⁸ Kāmāndaka advises the king not to trust women and especially the queen According to Kāmāndaka, the king should approach the queen only after she was examined by a man of eighty years and a woman of fifty years in the harem²⁹.

Kautilya warns the king to be wary of the treachery of the ministers and other officials. In order to make sure that the ministers are trustworthy, they are put to a variety of tests. In the Arthasāstra, it is noted that the 'amātya' should be selected on the basis of their knowledge about *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Bhēya*, by means of 'Upādha'³⁰. Kāmāndaka reconciles with this view³¹ The ministers, according to the *Smṛtis*, should be allured (through secret agents) with wealth and sexual offers to test their honesty and character.

According to Kāmāndaka³² the king should always take care of his body. A monarch should always be carefully guarded against his friends and foes alike He should keep near him as his bodyguards, those persons whose secret designs are known to him, whose family had served his own forefathers, who are trustworthy and on whom endowments have been conferred³³ A king is also advised not to join any festive group, nor he should go to a place where there is a large gathering of people³⁴ It is also noted that the king should not board a

vessel which is being tossed by the tempest and the crew of which has not been tested. Even when a monarch wants to see his own mother, it is advised that he should at first get the apartment thoroughly searched and then he should enter only, being escorted by trustworthy and armed guards.

Thus we find that scrupulous attention was paid to the security of the King.

Daily routine of the King

Kautilya is probably the only ancient political thinker who had prescribed a systematic timing and very heavy routine for the king. He divided the day and night as well, into eight *nāḷikas* each. And the duties to be performed by the king through each *nāḷika* has been clearly spelt out by Kautilya. Manu does not give such an exhaustive routine for the king but mentions that 'Having risen during the last watch of the night and performed his obligations, with collected mind, having poured libations into the fire and honoured the *brāhmaṇas*, he shall enter the auspicious hall of the audience'³⁵ After talking to the people there, he should discuss with ministers on various issues of the State³⁶ Again it is stated that either during the mid-day or during the mid-night, when he is free from fatigue and dullness, he shall deliberate on matters of morality, pleasure and wealth³⁷

On the other hand, we find that Kāṁandaka does not furnish any details on kings' daily routine. He simply says that "awaking from the sleep, the king should purify himself and offer libations to gods; cheerful and dressed in beautiful garments he should be duly paid homage by the ministers, priests, allies and friends. After that riding on a first class vehicle, the king should himself look after the tending of horses and elephants and the comforts of the soldiers severally"³⁸

Functions of the King

The functions of the king described in the scriptures of the ancient Indians are simply amazing and it would be really difficult for any ordinary person to undertake these functions. In fact the functions very closely resemble the functions of a welfare State of the present times.

First of all it is stated that protection of the subjects is the most important and fundamental function of the king. The people should be protected from all sorts of internal and external dangers. The ancient *Smṛtis* proclaim it loudly that the king receives his 'wages' (taxes from the people) only as a remuneration for his job of protecting the people. A king who does not protect his people is described as a thief in the *Mahābhārata*³⁹. In Kautilya's *Ārthasāstra* also it is mentioned that maintaining welfare of the people is the most sacred 'dharma' of the king. Manu also states that protection of the subjects is the highest 'dharma' of the king⁴⁰. It is maintained by Kāmāndaka, that the protection of the subjects is possible only if law and order are preserved in society and that the king should take proper steps to achieve this goal⁴¹. Kāmāndaka also maintains that the king should protect his subjects by and equitable distribution of reward and punishment⁴². Kautilya and Kāmāndaka express the same opinion that through extraordinary punishments, a king frightens his subjects and through moderate or light punishments he makes them bold. So the punishment should always be proportionate to the offence⁴³.

Kāmāndaka states that the people should be protected from internal enemies like thieves, officers of the king, king's favourites, ruler's greed and the enemies of the land⁴⁴. He also states that a king should always be firm towards those who would venture to stand in his ways of government⁴⁵. Nārada also expresses the opinion that the king's important duties are to protect his subjects, to listen to the aged and wise, to look into the disputes of the people and to be energetic in discharging his royal functions⁴⁶.

According to Kaṭilya⁴⁷, for a king the religious vow is his readiness for action, his sacrifice is satisfactory discharge of his people's work. The king is expected to protect the brāhmins, ascetics, the helpless, the destitute, the aged, the widows, the truthful women and the cows. The king had to promote *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* for the religious, socio-economic and aesthetic progress of the society. He was to encourage virtue and morality. He was to maintain or support hospitals, rest-houses and educational institutions and had to encourage trade, industry and commerce.

In performing the manifold functions of the State, the king had to employ the four-fold *upāyās* such as *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda* and *daṇḍa*. And upholding of *Varṇāśramadharmā* constitutes another very important function of the king, both according to the *Dharmaśāstrās* and the *Arthaśāstra* literature. He should perform religious sacrifices and please the gods. Building new temples, maintenance and renovation of old temples are also considered as very important functions of the king. In short, it is maintained that the life of a king is the life of sacrifice. In the *Arthaśāstrā*, Kaṭilya proclaims the magnificent ideal, "in the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king, in their welfare lies his welfare, the good of the king does not consist in what is pleasing to himself, what is pleasing to the subjects constitutes his good". In the *Mahābhārata* also it is noted that "the king, like a pregnant woman should not do what is pleasing to him but he should do what all would result in the good of the people"⁴⁸

Thus this brief study of the kingship in ancient India may be summed up in the most appropriate words of K.P. Jayaswal; "Hindu kingship is the highest ideal of sacrifice on the part of the individual whose privilege it was to be the king of the Hindus"⁴⁹

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This book belongs to third century A D as given in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol.II, p.461, The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta

At the same time, according to K P Jayaswal the book belongs to 5th century A D, according to P.V Kane it belongs to the period 400-600 A D, according to R C Majumdar it belongs to 7th century (*Ancient India*, p 471), according to A B Keith, it belongs to 700 A D.

- 2 A S Altekar, '*State and Government in Ancient India*', p 18
- 2a. 'Vishnugupta' is another name for 'Kautilya'.
- 3 *Kāmandaka Nīti Sāra*, 1 2-6
- 4 *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol II, The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, p.462
5. A.S Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p 18
- 6 *Ibid.*, p 80
- 7 *Ibid.*, p 81.
- 8 *Sukranītisāra*, I p 346-8
9. *Op cit.*, p.500.

In the *Mahābhārata* a technical term 'Karma prāptam rājyaṁ' is used indicating the legal succession of the eldest son At the same time, Dēvāpi, although was the eldest son of Prātipa, was prevented by the people from succeeding him, since he was a victim of leprosy. Śaṅtanu had to be preferred by his father, much against his natural inclinations (*Mahābhārata* V 149 22-3) Also we should note that Daśaratha proposed the anointment

of Śrī Rāma as Yuvarāja (Crown Prince) after taking the representatives of the people into his confidence and discussing the question with them in all its bearings (*Rāmāyaṇa* II 1.45, 2 15-16, 4 16).

10 *Sukra*.I, p.343 "Jyēsthōpi badhirāh Kusṭhi mukandhah shandu ēvahi,
Sa rājyārtho bhāvenaiva bhrāta tatputra ēva hi '

11. *Ibid* II p 15 'Svakanishṭhām Pitṛivyām Vanujām Vagrasāmbhavam.
Putram Putrikṇtām dattam Yuvarājābhishechayet '

12 *KNS* , 7.6, "Vinitamāurasam putram Yuvarāja abhisecayet."

13 *Kautilya's Arthasāstrā*. 1.4; *Manu* 7.39

14 *Ibid* , 1.2.

15. *KNS* , II 7 11

16 *Manusmṛti*, VII, 43

17 In the earlier period the study of Trāyi included the study of the three Vēdas It's meaning however changed during the later period It included a number of sciences, namely mīmāṃsa, dharmaśāstrās, and purāṇas, which had no connection with Trāyi at all.

18 *K.A* , 1 4, *KNS.*, 2 14. Pasupālyam Kṛṣiḥ panyam – Varta Vartānujivinam,

19. *Agni Purāṇa*, 219. 59.60.

20. *KNS*, XIV, p 28,29

21. *Agni Purāṇa*, 225.12; mulam svāmi sā vāri rākṣyāh

22. *K.A* I 17.

23. *Ibid.*, 1.17.

- 24 *Ibid* , 1 17, NVA . 24 72, gunajagadhain Kāsthami vārinītam rājaputram
rājakulamabhiyuktamātram bhajyēt;
- 25 KNS. VII p.51,54
- 26 K A. 1,20.
- 27 *Ibid* , 1,2.
- 28 KNS., VII, p 28-47
29. *Ibid* , VII, p 44,50
30. K A 1 10 ('Upādha' is defined by the *Nītivākyāmr̥ta* at p.111 as 'testing the mind of a
person as regards *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *bhaya* by various devices employed by
secret agents)
- 31 KNS , IV, p.26
- 32 *Ibid.*, VII, p 29.
- 33 *Ibid* , VII, p 31
34. *Ibid* , VII, p 33, 37, 40
- 35 *Manu* , VII, p 145
- 36 *Ibid* , VII, p 146
- 37 *Ibid* , VII, p.151
38. KNS., XV, p 46, 48
- 39 *Mahābhārata Śānti Parva*, 137.96, 137 94-95, 139.60; *Anusāsana*, 128.47, SP 23 10, 24.29,
32.2, 57.11, 60.14.20. 347 5
- 40 *Manu.*, VII p 111

- 41 *KNS.*, I, p.15. tasmādharmam puraskṛitya yatetārthāya pārthivāḥ
Dharmēna vardhatē rājyam tasya svādu phālaṁ śriyaḥ,
- 42 *Ibid* , I.12
43. *Ibid.*, II.37.
- 44 *Ibid* , I 12.
45. *Ibid.*, VI, 5
46. *Narada XVIII*, p.33
- 47 *K.A* 1.19.
- 48 *SP.* 56. 44-46.
- 49 K.P. Jayaswal., *Hindu Polity*, p.340

TOWNSHIP IN EARLY ĀNDHRA– ITS BASIC PATTERN

—K.Raghunath

It is necessary to discuss the factors that led to the emergence of townships in early Āndhradēśa. During the proto-historic period, the megalithic phase is characterised by agricultural surplus, a society controlled by chiefdoms and craft specialisation. These factors paved way for the transformation of the protohistoric settlements into early historic phase. It is a known fact that the Āndhras were under the political control of the Mauryan empire at the dawn of the State system in early India. After the fall of the Mauryan empire, the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas declared themselves as the lords of the entire *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and ruled independently for over four centuries from 2nd century B.C to 3rd century A.D. Now let us consider the salient features of the Township in early Āndhradēśa. In this regard, we have some classical accounts which throw some light on the very basic structure of the early Āndhra towns. Pliny, observed that the Āndhras were a powerful race and possessed 30 walled cities, along with an army consisting of 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants¹. This statement reveals the defence strategy of the Āndhras who had defended their settlements with fortified walls. These monumental buildings also speak for the planning of the towns in early Āndhra. Scholars have identified some of the above mentioned 30 walled towns that were situated in the Deccan. Archaeological excavations conducted at a good number of early historic sites such as Kotilingala², Dhulikatta³, Bodhan, Vadluru, Satanikota, Sasanikota, Dharanikota, Dantapura⁴, Puduru, Kotamitta, Nagarjunakonda and Yeleswaram⁵ brought to light well developed fortified townships. The forts in their first phase were built of massive mud ramparts which were strengthened and perfected by brick walls. Some of these forts were provided with moats, gates and guard-rooms.

On the other hand, the early texts like the *Arthaśāstra* and *Milīṇḍapanha* contain some descriptions on the early towns and urban centres. Though these texts furnish information pertaining to India as a whole, we can take these aspects into consideration, in the absence of literary sources at regional and local levels, as most of the early towns were under the sway of the Mauryas.

The Buddhist text *Milīṇḍapanha* provides interesting information as to how a city should be planned and laid out. According to it, in the first instance a good site should be selected before laying its foundation and it ends with laying of roads inside it, connecting the entire city. *Milīṇḍapanha* further mentions that, the architect of a city, when he wants to build, should first search out for a pleasant spot with which no fault can be found, even with hills or gullies in it i.e., free from rough ground and rocks and not open to danger of attack. Then, when the place was made, he would clear it thoroughly of all scrubs and stakes, and would proceed to build there a city fine and regular, measure out into quarters, with excavated moats and ramparts abutting it, with stout gate-houses and towers, with market-places, cross roads, street corners, and public squares with regular lines of open shops and parks, gardens, lakes, lotus ponds and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples of Gods. And then, when the city stood there in all its glory, he would go away to some other land to lay out another new city.

Now we will consider the statements of *Milīṇḍapanha* as far as Āndhradēśa is concerned. Regarding the selection of sites, almost all the early historic settlements such as Kotilingala, Dhulikatta, Peddabankur, Dharanikota, Kondapur, Satanikota and Nagarjunakonda are situated both on plains and hills, in close proximity to perennial water sources, which also offered natural protection. As mentioned in the above work, habitational and public utility structures were systematically planned as observed at Dhulikatta and Nagarjunakonda. The archaeological excavations conducted at Dhulikatta⁶ laid bare a palace complex and road ways. Workshops or manufacturing centres of terracotta, kaolin and metal objects have been unearthed at Dhulikatta,

Peddabankur, Kondapur and Nagarjunakonda. Most of the early historical settlements had both sophisticated and simple dwellings built in brick, rubble and mud walls. These houses were provided with water supply through deeply sunk wells, which were lined with brick and terracotta rings. Open and covered drainage lines were laid and connected to pits which were also lined with terracotta rings. The occurrence of punch-marked and indigenous coinage along with seals and sealings found at Peddabankur, Kotilingala, Dharanikota and Kondapur, attest that, these settlements were urban in character. At Dharanikota, a huge wharf-cum-navigational channel was unearthed and this reveals the brisk trading activity. Pottery of different wares among which the Roman amphorae, arretine and rouletted, recovered from most of the coastal settlements prove the contacts of early Āndhra with the western and eastern countries. These urban centres were provided with well-built religious structures also.

Thus, it is clear that the townships in early Āndhra were well laid-out according to a plan, having brick and mud houses, located on either side of the pathways and roadways. These townships were provided with hygienic, sanitary system. Some of the settlements were market towns with manufacturing centres or workshops of different commodities, catering to the needs of the people. Almost all the settlements were well fortified either by mud or brick walls, surrounded by deep moats. The above evidences from literary and archaeological sources lead us to conclude that the townships in Early Āndhradēśa were full fledged urban centres laid out with perfect town planning designed by experienced and expert architects.

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Township in Early Āndhra-Its Basic Pattern

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BUDDHAGHŌṢA'S NATIVITY

— Dr. C.V.Udaya Sankar

Buddhaghōṣa was the most distinguished exegetist of the *Thēravāda* school of Buddhism. He is cherished all over the world with reverence and gratitude for his exposition of the Pāli *Tripīṭaka*. What Sāyana did for the Vēdic literature, Buddhaghōṣa accomplished for the Pāli *Tripīṭaka*. Many points of Buddhist theology and crucial philosophical questions would not have been clearly intelligible to later generations but for the immense labour that Buddhaghōṣa bestowed upon his exegesis of the Pāli texts.

Though Buddhaghōṣa was a great historical personage and who was responsible for the number of commentaries on the *Tripīṭakas*, still the place of his birth remains a problematic one. Buddhaghōṣa left no records pertaining to himself, except his inner life and experience through his works, like many Indian celebrities. Regarding his early life and parentage, we get stray references made by him in his own commentaries and the meagre accounts given in *Dhammakīrti's Mahāvāṃśa* and *Buddhaghōṣuppatti*. No more authentic information is available to reconstruct his life history.

The *Mahāvāṃśa*, while recording the events of the reign of king Mahānāma, who ruled in Ceylon in the early years of the 5th century A.D. records that Buddhaghōṣa was a Brāhmin youth, born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great Bō-tree, being well founded in all the branches of 'Sāstras' and the three 'Vēdas', soon attained great fame as an indefatigable schematic disputant. A certain Mahāthēra Rēvata, finding in him the qualities necessary for an expounder of the words of the Buddha, initiated him into Buddhism and entrusted him with the work of translating the Sinhalese version of *Atthakathās* into Māgadhi, for the welfare of the whole world and for this mission, Buddhaghōṣa went to Ceylon¹. Thus the details regarding his place of birth in *Mahāvāṃśa* are quite meagre and vague.

The Burmese tradition and *Buddhaghōṣuppati* also strengthen the *Mahāvamsā* version. According to Bishop Bigandet, a Religious of Thaton named Buddhaghōṣa made a voyage to Ceylon in the year of Religion 943 (400 A.C). The object of his voyage was to procure a copy of the scriptures. He made use of the Burmese or rather Talaing characters in transcribing the manuscripts². B.C.Law also accepts the *Mahāvamsā*'s tradition and considers Buddhaghōṣa as a native of *Magadha*³. In the preface to *Visuddhimagga* of the Harward series, D.D Kosambi discussed this point. While considering the merits of the *Mahāvamsā*'s accounts and the Burmese tradition, Kosambi opines. "from the narrative of *Mahāvamsā* one fact remains - that Buddhaghōṣa came from India to Ceylon, in the reign of *Mahānāma* and is confirmed by Burmese authorities too but they believe that he being a Talaing by birth went from Thanton to Ceylon⁴. Kosambi was of the belief that he was a Telanga from Telugu country of South India and not a Burmese Talaing, that Talaing was only a corruption of the original name, that Buddhaghōṣa was a Telugu by birth and came from Telugu country⁵.

Now we can examine the internal evidences in his works. Firstly, we can confirm that, he went to Ceylon from Kāñchīpura, in South India. Next, if we see the story of the merchant *Viśākha*'s voyage to Ceylon as narrated in *Sumaṅgaḷa viḷasini*, Buddhaghōṣa had no direct knowledge of *Pāṭalīputra*. According to him *Viśākha* was a rich merchant in *Pāṭalīputra*. He wanted to adhere to Buddhism and came to know that *Tāmrapaṇī* would be an ideal one, since it was adorned with rows of religious shrines, ample space for sitting and lying, where the climate and residences, the people and the doctrines were congenial, in short, it was easy to obtain everything there. He gave his wealth to his wife and sons and came to a seaport to reach Ceylon⁶. Buddhaghōṣa did not clearly mention the sea-port from where *Viśākha* went to Ceylon. Buddhaghōṣa's description of *Pāṭalīputra* as a town situated on the sea-coast⁷ is a clear example that he had no direct knowledge about *Pāṭalīputra*. His legendary description of Bō-tree (*Asvattha*) is unexpected from a person born in the vicinity of the Bō-tree i.e.,

Magadha. Buddhaghōṣa mentioned the rivers *Bāhukā*, *Adhikakka*, *Bāhumatī* and *Saraswatī* but could not locate them, and mentioned seven sacred rivers in *Vatthupamesutta*, but the information about them is very meagre. He described *Prayāga* as a bathing ghat of the Ganges but in fact it was the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā and Gayā as a bathing place erected by Mandavāpi (*Mandalavāpi Santhāna Tīthamēva*). The word Phālgū (*Phaggu*)-is known as the name of the river of Gayā in Indian literature but Buddhaghōṣa describes it as the stream of *Phālgūṇa* (*Phoggūṇanakkhattamēba*) and explains further the significance of the name of Phaggu, which lay in the fact that the people came there for bathing, preferably under the constellation *Uttara-phālguna* in the month of *Phālguna* and this special emphasis on Gayā is for the reason that it was the best of the *tīrthas* of the time (*Lōka Gayā Sammattarā*). He did not explain the importance of the river in Gayā. Instead of it he described it as a tank (*Gayā-Pokkharāṇī*). This description is unexpected from a person who was an inhabitant of Gayā⁸. All these internal evidences clearly establish that Buddhaghōṣa does not belong to North India and particularly to that portion of North India which is known to the Buddhists as the Middle country (*Majjhima-dēśa*).

If we further examine his works, like *Sumaṅgaḷa Vilāsinī* and others, we can conclude that Buddhaghōṣa was a Telugu person, born in Telugu country in South India. Buddhaghōṣa had a fair geographical knowledge about the Āndhra Country, which is evident from his description of *Dakshināpatha*⁹ and his elaborate description of the island, in the middle of Gōdāvarī river¹⁰ in the *Suttanipāta* commentary. This is possible for a person who was familiar with the land. He mentions *Assaka* and *Alaka* (same as *Mulaka*) as Āndhaka or territory in *Sumaṅgaḷa Vilāsinī*¹¹. Further he describes the river Gōdāvarī as the dividing line between *Assaka* and *Alaka* i.e., *Asmaka* and *Mulaka*. *Asmaka* is identified with the Godāvarī valley between the Nirmal and the Balaghat range in the north and south respectively. It corresponds to the modern Nizamabad district of A.P. and Nanded district of Maharashtra. *Alaka* or *Mulaka*

occupies the land between Daulatabad and the river Gōḍāvarī. It corresponds to the modern Aurangabad region¹². All his contemporaries and associates, mentioned by him, are all from South India and the *Vihāras* and places where he lived before going to Ceylon are in South India.

Buddhaghōṣa further describes *Āndhakas* (men of Adara) and *Damīlas* (Dravidians as *Mīccha*, Non-Āryan people). He distinguishes *Māgadhi* (Pāli) as an Āryan language and differentiates from the non-Āryan languages such as *Odda* (language of Oriya), *Kirāta*, *Āndhaka* (language spoken by Āndhakas), *Yavana* (literally the language spoken by foreigners living in India), *Damīla* (language spoken by Dravidians or Tamils)¹³. He characterizes the *Damīla*, *Kirāta* and *Yavana* dialects as languages abounding in consonants in *Āṅuttare Attakathā*. Buddhaghōṣa describes an interesting Telugu custom of bleaching human bones in *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini*¹⁴.

Buddhaghōṣa further refers to *Dhānyakaṭaka* on the bank of river Kṛṣṇā and Daṇṭapura. The former is the renowned Amaravati - *Dhanyakataka* in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh and the later is *Dantavallar* near Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh. His stay at *Mayūrasuttapattana* and *Kāñchī*, the description of *Tāmaparṇī* all goes to prove that he was a native of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.

Buddhaghōṣa in his colophon to his *Visuddhimagga* says¹⁵, that he was a native (*Vattabena*) of *Moraṇḍakhēṭaka* and his colophon for *Majjhima Nikāya Attakathā* informs us that he lived for some time in *Kāñchīpura* i.e., modern Kāñchī and for some time in *Mayūrasuttapattana* i.e., modern Mylapore in Madras. This *Moraṇḍakhēṭaka* village is identified as *Kotanemalipuri* and *Gundlapalli* in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur District in Andhra Pradesh¹⁶.

The contemporary Telugu name for *Moraṇḍakhēṭaka* is equivalent to those two names i.e., "*Nemali*" is the Telugu equivalent for Pāli "*Mora*" and in Sanskrit it is "*Mayūra*" and means a peacock and *Gundla* or *Guṇḍlu* in Telugu is equivalent of 'Anḍu' in Pāli means-Egg. These two villages are full of numerous Buddhist remains and now deserted. They are 51 miles from

Nagarjunakonda and 58 miles from Amaravati, the two powerful and great Buddhist centres in Andhra, Buddhaghōṣa might have been influenced by these two mighty centres of Buddhist thought. However in Buddhaghōṣa's time, Andhra country witnessed the rise of Brāhmanical religion, for, the Pallavas, Ānaṇdagōtras, Viṣṇukunḍis patronised Brāhmanical religion. The above evidences point out that Buddhaghōṣa was a native of Āndhra and in his wanderings he became a convert to Buddhist creed.

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ĀŚŌKA MAURYA

THE CHIEF ROYAL PATRON OF BUDDHISM IN ĀNDHRA

—Dr. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao

Buddhism rarely enjoyed royal patronage in Āndhradēśa¹ Among the few royal patrons of Āndhra Buddhism, Āśōka Maurya stands out as the most prominent After the horrible genocide of Kālīṅga war, it is too well known that the penitent heart of Āśōka found solace in the Noble Gospel of Buddha Āśōka made it his personal religion and decided to repair the damage he had caused to humanity by propagating its message of peace and fraternity The Āndhras who should have suffered the ravages of the Kālīṅga war², were greatly benefited by enjoying a lion's share in the benevolent and pious activities undertaken by the Mauryan emperor

In his XIII R E., Āśōka says that the Andhras who were living within the imperial domain (*rāja viṣayē*) had already been following Buddhism (*dhmma manusarāṇte*)³ Having thus found out the Āndhras' preference for Buddhism, Āśōka should have felt it wise to strengthen its base in Āndhra, so that it can serve as the centre for spreading the Dhamma to further south and even to Tāmbapanni Dvīpa That Āśōka bestowed therefore serious attention on Buddhism in Āndhra becomes clear from what is outlined in the following pages

Third Council

The first measure of Āśōka in the cause of Buddhism was the convening of the Third Council, with a view to bring about unity in the *Śaṅgha* and to codify the Canon (c 261 B.C) The *Kathāvatthu* is believed to have been the compilation of the discussions at the Council⁴ If the work is to be taken seriously, the Āndhras were invited to the Council and they took a leading role in its deliberations. The *Kathāvatthu* makes copious references to the Āṇḍiyakas and the Śāḷas and their views. The Āṇḍiyakas were the local Mahāsāṅghikas, with their base at Dhānyakataṅka and Pūrvaśāḷas, Aparāśāḷas and Uttaraśāḷas branched off from them⁵ All these sects, according to *Kathāvatthu*, had representation in the Council.

It is rather doubtful whether the outcome of the Council fulfilled the aim of Aśoka. On the other hand, it is more likely that the discussions at the Council only widened the gulf between the Vibhajjavādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Edicts of Aśoka prohibiting schism should have led to an exodus of the Mahāsāṅghikas to the Buddhist centres in Āndhra like Dhānyakataka. The large quantities of N.B.P. were unearthed at places like Dhanyakataka and Vaddamanu⁶ attest the settlement of Mahāsāṅghika emigrants from Magadha and Vaiśālī. The sculptures of Amaravati, depicting the events in the life of Buddha in and around Vaiśālī⁷ may also indicate the influence of the Vajjian monks on the art of Amaravati. Interestingly one of the early inscriptions of Amaravati, records the gift of a devotee from Pataliputra⁸ to the local *Stūpa*.

The exodus of Magadhan monks added to the strength of the Mahāsāṅghika school in Āndhra. The Mahāsāṅghikas were in the vanguard of the movement aiming at popularising Buddhism by broadening its base. Their efforts gradually cleared the way for the emergence of Mahāyāna system in the *Vihāras* of the Krishna basin.

Presentation of Dhātus

Aśoka then opened the *stūpas* of Kusinagara and collected the relics of Buddha deposited them soon after *Mahāparinirvāṇa*⁹. He was prevented from opening the Rāmagrāma *stūpa*, built and guarded by the Nagas. Enshrining the relics thus recovered, Aśoka built a large number of *stūpas* all over his vast empire¹⁰. Tradition implies that there were no genuine corporeal relics of Buddha outside Kusinagara and Rāmagrāma and therefore the pre-Aśokan Buddhist *stūpas*, if any, were only *uddēśikas* but not *dhātugarbhas*. In the relics thus redistributed by Aśoka, the Andhras had a good share. Atleast two of the ancient *stūpas* in Āndhra are clearly known to have contained the *dhātus* of Buddha. The *Mañjuśrī Mūlatantra* states that the *Çaitya* of Śrīdhānyakataka, bears the *dhātu* of Jina, another name of Buddha¹¹.

The inscriptions of Bhattiprolu would leave us in no doubt that the *stūpa* was protected by the great body of the Buddha (*Buddha śarīrāṇi mahāniyaṇi sarmaṇe*)¹²

The recent excavations at the *stūpa* site in Dhānyakataka have led to startling discoveries¹³. They reveal that at pre-Asōkan levels there was a *stūpa* of modest size, which probably Asōka enlarged and reconstructed, enshrining in it a genuine *dhātu* and provided the *stūpa* with a granite railing. A few granite uprights have been unearthed and they are found with typical Mauryan polish and a few label inscriptions in Mauryan script¹⁴. A fragment of Asōkan pillar with a few letters of his Edict¹⁵ further supports Asōka's association with the Buddhist establishment of Dhānyakataka. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that the *dhātu* found at Amaravati was Asōka's presentation.

There is a controversy about the date of the inscriptions recovered from the *stūpa* of Bhattiprolu. There are two extreme views – one holding them as pre-Asōkan¹⁶ and the other assigning them to about 100 B.C.¹⁷. The solid brick work of the *stūpa* makes it one of the earliest constructions in the country¹⁸ and there is no evidence to show that it was renovated or reconstructed at any time later. One interesting aspect of the inscriptions is that in the same record some letters look very archaic, whereas some others show slightly developed forms¹⁹. Even in the above mentioned Dhanyakataka Pillar Edict, D.C.Sircar who has no doubt that it is Asōkan finds certain peculiarities – letters which do not conform to their counterforms in any of the other Asōkan Edicts²⁰. Bühler may therefore be right in thinking that the Bhattiprolu records are in the southern variety of Brāhmī and are to be assigned to about 200 B.C., if not slightly earlier²¹, which date thus roughly corresponds to the age of Asōka. Recently I.K.Sarma finds Mauryan polish on the stone reliquaries, on which the Bhattiprolu inscriptions were incised²². When all these points – genuine relic of Buddha, Mauryan polish on the reliquaries, archaic method of *stūpa* construction, the peculiarities of the script and the undisturbed condition of the inside of the *stūpa* -- read together, may lead to the conclusion that the

Bhattiprolu *stūpa* was also built during the time of Aśoka on the relic and the reliquaries presented by Aśoka

Aśokan Stūpas

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who is believed to have toured India during the 7th century A D had recorded that he had seen three Aśokan *Stūpas* in Āndhradēśa. He gave the location and the description of each of them

The first of the Aśokan *stūpas* that Yuan Chwang saw was not far from the capital of Kalinga and it was 100 feet high²³. The capital of Kalinga is differently identified with Mukhalingam and with Kalingapattanam, a village on the coast. At the latter place a *stūpa* of considerable size has been recently excavated. The description that the *stūpa* was high may imply that it was on the top of a hill and the hill not far from the above two places is Salihundam, on the right bank of the river Vamsadhara, four miles from and overlooking the sea. In Inscriptions, the place is called *Śālipatāka*²⁴ which seems to have been the corrupt form of *śalya* (bone) *pētika* (box), suggesting that the *stūpa* that crowns the hill was built on the bone relic of Buddha. In the excavations on the hill, four relic caskets have been found and one of them contains a relic, probably a piece of bone (J A H R S Vol.XIX., P.24). The other antiquities found on the hill attest the early history of the Buddhist Kṣētra. The rouletted pottery of the place resembles that of Arikamidu and Brahmagiri; the palaeography of the label inscriptions on the pottery pieces is almost similar to that of Bhattiprolu records and the method of construction of the *stūpa* bears close resemblance to that of Bhattiprolu and Amaravati. The punch-marked coin found at the foundation level of the *stūpa* is another support to its antiquity.

More than all, a Brāhmi inscription has been recently found on the hill. It reads *dharmarāja Aśoka sirino* which means of 'Dharmarāja Aśoka siri'²⁵. The inscription thus makes us believe that the *stūpa* was built by a king named Aśoka, who had the title Dharmarāja. But

on palaeographical grounds, the record cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the 2nd century A D ²⁶ But it is to be remembered that (i) there is no evidence showing so far that the region was ever under a local ruler with the name or title Aśoka, (ii) Aśoka Maurya is famous as Dharmarāja or Dharma Aśoka; (iii) Sālihuṇḍam is within Kāliṅga which Aśoka had annexed after a bloody battle, (vi) Samapa which is modern Jaugada, was the administrative seat of the Mauryas and it is not far away from Sālihuṇḍam In view of these points, it is reasonable to conclude that the *stūpa* on the hill was originally built during the time of Aśoka and later during the 2nd century A D when it was renovated, the tablet recording the old historical fact was inserted as a memorial out of gratitude to Aśoka

The second Aśokan *stūpa* which the Chinese traveller saw was near Ping-ki-lo, which is the Chinese version of the word Vēngī At the village of Peda Vegi (West Godavari Dist) a *stūpa* complex²⁷ has been recently unearthed. But Yuan Chwang describes the Ping-ki-lo complex as having high walls, storeyed towers, beautifully ornamented balconies, in front of which, there were two stone *stūpas*, several hundred feet high²⁸ In view of this description, it is likely that what the traveller referred to was the Guntupalli rock-cut *Ḍaityālaya* and the *viḥāras* The Guntupalli complex is among the oldest Buddhist monuments in South-India and the cave closely resembles the Lōmāsa Ṛṣi cave, excavated by Aśoka in the Barabar Hills Debal Mitra has expressed the view²⁹ that "it is so archaic-looking that one is tempted to regard it as the arch-type and assign a high antiquity to it" whereas Percy Brown has clearly stated that they cannot be much later than the Lōmāsa Ṛṣi³⁰ Yuan Chwang further says that Dinnāga lived in a cave near Vēngi and composed his *Pramāṇasamuḍḍaya*, the renowned treatise on logic³¹ Dinnāga should have chosen Guntupalli for his residence because of its antiquity and sanctity If this is agreed upon, the credit for having introduced not only the rock-cut architecture but also the system of *Ḍaityālaya* goes to Aśoka Maurya

The third *Āśoka stūpa*, according to Yuan Chwang, was in Chu-li-ye³², and its identification is beset with much difficulty. Chu-li-ye means - the Land of the *Ḍoḷas*. During the 7th century A.D. the region of Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts (Renadu) was ruled by the Telugu *Ḍoḍas*³³ and therefore Yuan Chwang might have referred to it as the *Ḍoḷa Kingdom*. In this region so far no important Buddhist site has been discovered. One of the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions³⁴ and the *Ḍartanyapuri* record³⁵ refer to Puspagiri and Pubhagiri respectively and both are identified with Puspagiri in the Cuddapah district³⁶. But no significant Buddhist antiquities have so far come to light at Puspagiri. More over, the Buddhists preferred to have their *Vihāras* very close to politically alive and economically active towns or on highways of trade but Puspagiri does not satisfy any of the requirements. Recently on the hill of *Ḍaṇḍavaram* in Prakasam district an ancient *stūpa* and *vihāra* of considerable size have been excavated. The sculptures of the place conforming to the early phase of Amaravati style and the *Sātavāhana* coin recovered from the *stūpa* support its antiquity. *Ḍaṇḍavaram* is at the meeting place of routes from *Dhānyakataka* and *Paṭhān* to *Banavāsi*. The Chu-li-ye *stūpa* of *Āśoka* noted by Yuan Chwang may therefore be tentatively identified with *Ḍaṇḍavaram Stūpa*.

Dharmayātras and Dharmalipis

Another important undertaking of *Āśoka*, in the interests of Buddhism, was a system of *Dharmayātras* (in the place of earlier *Vihārayātras*), in the course of which, he probably planted *Dharmalipis* at important places, proclaiming to the people, the code of conduct which they should adopt, in the interests of harmonious social life. The system was inaugurated in his tenth regnal year, when *Āśoka* visited Lumbini, the birth place of Buddha³⁷. Two years later (13th regnal year), *Āśoka* undertook a *Dharmayātra* to the south. The contents of the M.R. Edicts suggest that having spent 256 days in the tour³⁸, *Āśoka* reached *Suvarṇagiri*, from which, he issued orders to the governor at *Isila*. On the strength of etymological nearness, *Suvarṇagiri* is to be identified with *Jonnagiri* in the *Pattikonda Taluk* of *Kurnool district*³⁹. For

reaching Jonnagiri, Aśoka might have followed the familiar eastward route along the coast. The number of days he had spent would suggest that it was not a mere whirlwind tour. In the course of that leisurely undertaken tour, Aśoka should have visited Dhauli, Jaugada, Sālihuṇḍam, Vēṅgi, Dhānyakāṭaka, Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Chāṇḍavaram, supervising the building activity at the places. He planted a Pillar Edict at Dhānyakāṭaka⁴⁰, planted a MRE at Rājulamaṇḍagiri (Kurnool)⁴¹ and all the fourteen REs besides a MRE at Erragudi(Kurnool)⁴². About the MRE of Erragudi, R.K. Mukherjee says that it is unique in its new matter which is not found in any of its other versions — (Aśoka) seems to be extending here the scope of his preaching of Dhamma. He appears to enjoin its preaching among both the civil and military classes, especially among the youth and the student population of the country — the teachers are also enlisted by him along with the administrative officers — in the work of carrying his Dhamma — to the student population⁴³. The presence of Dharma Aśoka among them should have greatly inspired the Āndhras and the tour should have fulfilled Aśoka's desire of making Āndhra, a stronghold of Buddhism.

Mahadēva's Mission

After the Third Saṅgiti, Aśoka despatched Buddhist Missionaries to different parts of India and to the lands outside. According to the Ceylonese Chronicle-*Mahāvamsā*, Mahadēva Bhikkhu was sent to Mahiṣamaṇḍala⁴⁴.

The identification of Mahiṣamaṇḍala has become problematic. Earlier historians thought that Mahiṣamaṇḍala was identical either with the Vindhyan region⁴⁵, Māḷva wherein there was Mahiṣmatīpura, or with Mysore⁴⁶. Mahiṣmatīpura is no doubt an ancient town. But the word Mysore is of late origin. It appears to have been derived from Mahiṣaviṣaya, applied to Tumkur region by the Hebbeta record⁴⁷ of Kādāmba Viṣṇuvarman of about A.D. 500. D.C. Sircar is of the view that the Mahiṣakas who were a totemistic tribe, established from Māḷva to Mysore, several settlements, to which they lent their own name⁴⁸.

A few years back, on the hill of Guntupalli (West Godavari Dt) a Brāhmi inscription was found in which a king by name Śirī Sada was given the title Kaṭiṅga-Mahiṣakādhpati⁴⁹. His description as Mēghavāhana makes it clear that he belonged to the line of Khāravēla, the great king of Kaṭiṅga. The above title suggests that either Śirī Sada or his illustrious predecessor should have conquered the Mahiṣakas. The Hathigumpha inscription, while listing the numerous expeditions of Khāravēla, does not include either Mahiṣmati or Mysore among his conquests. Nor does it give him the title *Mahiṣakādhpati*. Then it should have been Śirī Sada who brought the Mahiṣakas under his authority. There is no evidence to ascertain that Śirī Sada had undertaken expeditions against such distant places like Mahiṣmati or Mysore. The Mahiṣakas who acknowledged his overlordship must have therefore been living not far away from Kaṭiṅga or Guntupalli, the find spot of the record.

As Kaṭiṅga and Mahiṣamaṇḍala are mentioned together in the above record, a recent writer assumes that they should be contiguous and rushes to the conclusion that Maisōlia or Masilia of the classical writers is identical with Mahiṣamaṇḍala⁵⁰. Maisōlia is the region around the mouths of the river Kṛṣṇa. It appears that the classical writers named the region after the Black (*masi*) River flowing through it, not after the racial name of the people living in it. In both the native and foreign literatures, Maisōlia is described as the kingdom of the Nāgas⁵¹. The Ceylonese literature knows it as the home of the Nāgas but calls it Majerika which may be a variant of Masalia. P.S.Sastry tries to derive Machilipattana and Maisōlia from the name of the Nāga king Muçiliṇḍa⁵³. But his theory also supports the view that Maisōlia is the land of the Nāgas. Moreover Kaṭiṅga and Maisōlia are not contiguous as the kingdom of Vēṅgi interposes between them. The identification of Mahiṣamaṇḍala with Maisōlia is therefore not reasonable.

It may be recalled that in old literature Kaṭiṅga and Āndhra are mentioned together and the rulers of Kaṭiṅga made every effort to expand southwards and westwards with the ambition

of bringing the rich coastal plain and industrially prosperous Telangana under their control. The Çulla Kaṭiṅga Jātaka⁵⁴ refers to a war between Kaṭiṅga and Aśoka, roughly corresponding to the modern Nizamabad District. Khāravēla, according to the Hathigumpha inscription led several expeditions against the Kṛṣṇa region, in one of which he claims to have threatened Musikanagara, which may be Maḥiṣakanagara (D C. Sircar reads it as Asikanagara and locates it on the Kṛṣṇa)⁵⁵ Several inscriptions and coins of the successors of Khāravēla, known as the Sada rulers are found in the Kṛṣṇa basin - Dhanyakataka⁵⁶, Chebrolu⁵⁷, Vaddamanu⁵⁸ and Velpur⁵⁹, giving rise to the doubt whether Maḥiṣamaṇḍala was not in its neighbourhood. Interestingly, from the excavations at Kondapur (Medak Dt) some coins of the Maḥiṣaka kings⁶⁰ have been recovered. The antiquities of Kondapur suggest that it was a centre of industry and a settlement of Buddhists⁶¹.

The Maḥiṣaka coins thus indicate that the Medak and Nalgonda districts formed the Maḥiṣamaṇḍala of ancient times with its headquarters at Kondapur, which, in those days was probably called Maḥiṣakanagara (like Āndhrapatha and Āndhranagari). D C.Sircar doubts the reading of the above coin legend by V.V. Mirashi but does not deny the presence of Maḥiṣakas in the region. He further says that Maḥiṣamaṇḍala (its core region being Kondapur and other places which have yielded the coins attributed to the Maḥiṣakas). might have extended into the Tumkur area of Mysore⁶².

The Mahāvamśa gives the impression that the proselytizing activity of Mahadēva was not limited to Maḥiṣamaṇḍala but extended to Pallavabogga, where he had a large following⁶³. Pallavabogga was close to the mouths of the river Kṛṣṇa and had cultural contacts with Ceylon. The Mahāvamśa description of Pallavabogga agrees with modern Palnad, wherein was the famous Buddhist Kṣētra of Śrīparvata-Nagarjunakonda. The chronicle says that Mahadēva went to Ceylon accompanied by ten thousand monks from Pallavabogga and it would not have been possible for him if he had his headquarters either at Mysore or at Maḥiṣmati. The

account of *Mahāvamsā* thus suggests that Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Pallavabogga were close to one another Nalgonda and Palnad are in fact contiguous but for the river Kṛṣṇa which separates them

If *Mahāvamsā* makes Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Pallavabogga neighbours, the Guntupalli record would have the former not far away from Kāliṅga. The evidence of both epigraphs and literature thus helps us in holding the Kondapur region identical with Mahiṣamaṇḍala to which Aśoka sent Mahadēva.

The large following which Mahadēva had in Mahiṣamaṇḍala-Pallavabogga region indicates that Aśoka's ambition was fully vindicated. It is further supported by the *Mahābhārata* statement that the Mahiṣakas, though originally Kshatriyas, were reduced to the status of *Vṛśalas* by losing contact with Brāhmins, (*Anuśāsana*, Ch 33, vv 10-12) evidently by becoming Buddhists. The region continued to be a stronghold of Buddhism for considerable time with Kondapur, Gajulabanda, Tirumalagiri and Nelakondapalli as its centres.

The cultural contacts which Mahadēva established between Pallavabogga and Ceylon continued undisturbed for a long time. Several Ceylonese *Vihāras* sprang up in the Nagarjunakonda valley and with the support of their own kings⁶⁴, the Ceylonese Bhikkhus and Bhikkunis carried the message of Thēravāda to distant lands. The Śrīparvata - Siṃhala relations culminated, when, in the 5th century A.D., Buddhaghōṣa, encouraged by the Śrīparvata Thēravādins, sailed to Ceylon and restored the long forgotten Pāli Canon to India⁶⁵.

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At Kondapur several furnaces and workshops innumerable iron implements have been discovered According to reports there were three *stūpas*, three *vihāras* and two *caityālayas* at the place.
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BUDDHA IMAGES FROM NAMBUR GUNTUR DISTRICT, A.P.

—Dr. B. Rajendra Prasad

Several *stūpas* and Buddhist remains have been found and reported in Guntur District, since the discovery of Amaravati *stūpa* in 1797. Among the recent discoveries, Buddhist remains at Vaddamanu and Nambur are important and deserve special mention. In this article two images of Buddha discovered at the *stūpa* site at Nambur in 1977 are analysed.*

Nambur, is situated 15 kms away from Guntur. It is an ancient village dating back to Satavahāna times. The present village is built over the ancient mound. The Buddhist establishment is located one kilometre away, towards west of the village, near the old road leading to Kanteru.

The Buddhist establishment here, consisted of a *stūpa*, *chaityagriha* and *vihāra*. In the excavations conducted in 1977, the *stūpa* and a *chaityagriha* were exposed. In 1984, a highly weathered Buddha image (42 x 18 cms.), a pedestal (12 x 11 cms.) with feet and two architectural fragments (19 x 10 cms.) (22 x 19 cms.) were found by the villagers while digging in the field adjoining the *stūpa* (Fig 1).

The wheel shaped *stūpa* is 12 mts., in diameter. From the hub, eight spokes radiate connecting the inner and outer concentric circles. Due to the highly spoiled nature of the mound, the foundation and a part of *mēdhi* could only be traced. Two *āvaka* platforms were found and the rest were totally lost.

In front of the *stūpa*, on the northern side, an apsidal *chaityagriha* was exposed. Over

the crescentic shaped step (*Chandra śīla*) of the *chaityagriha*, the Buddha image was found. A fragment of Buddha image, the head, was located beyond the *chaityagriha*. The excavations did not yield either sculptural panels or inscriptions. A pot containing lamp stands and the red ware pottery were found at the site.

Archaeology, Nagarjuna University, Narsimharajapuram.

The *vihāra* complex on the western side of the *stūpa* was completely spoiled and only in a few places, the brick foundations of the walls were noticed. The nature of the *vihāra* complex could not be ascertained, as the area was dug by the villagers for agricultural purpose.

BUDDHA IMAGES

Standing Buddha . (62 x 25 cms) (Fig 2)

The standing Buddha image in limestone is preserved only up to the end of the robe, the leg portion, ankle and feet are completely lost. The palms of both hands are broken. The slender body and a round chubby face are notable features. The snail-like curls in ringlets and the topknot showing protuberance are faintly rendered. The open eyes, long ear-lobes, strong pointed lips, high chin and the *urna* are other features. The robe covering the left shoulder and the emphatically rendered pleats of the garment, linger on to the rounded contours. The expressive and reflective gaze of the face is notable.

Buddha Head : (013 x 5 x 011 cms) (Fig 3)

The nose, lips and neck are battered. Yet the face retains its quality. The soft and melting contours of the face, light rendering of the ringlets and above all the repose contribute to the superior quality of the image. The face radiates bliss.

Stylistically, the above sculptures are comparable to the Amaravati art. We may compare these with a Buddha head and other standing Buddha images from Amaravati, datable to the second-third centuries A.D. Hence, the Buddha figures from Nambur can be dated to the second-third centuries A.D. The *stūpa*, on the basis of architectural features, can be dated to the same period.

All the sculptures are now preserved in the Museum of the Department of History and Archaeology, Nagarjuna University, Nagarjunakonda.



Fig.1. Buddha and Architectural Fragments - Nambur(v), Guntur Dist



- - Fig.2. Standing Buddha - Nambur(v), Guntur Dist.

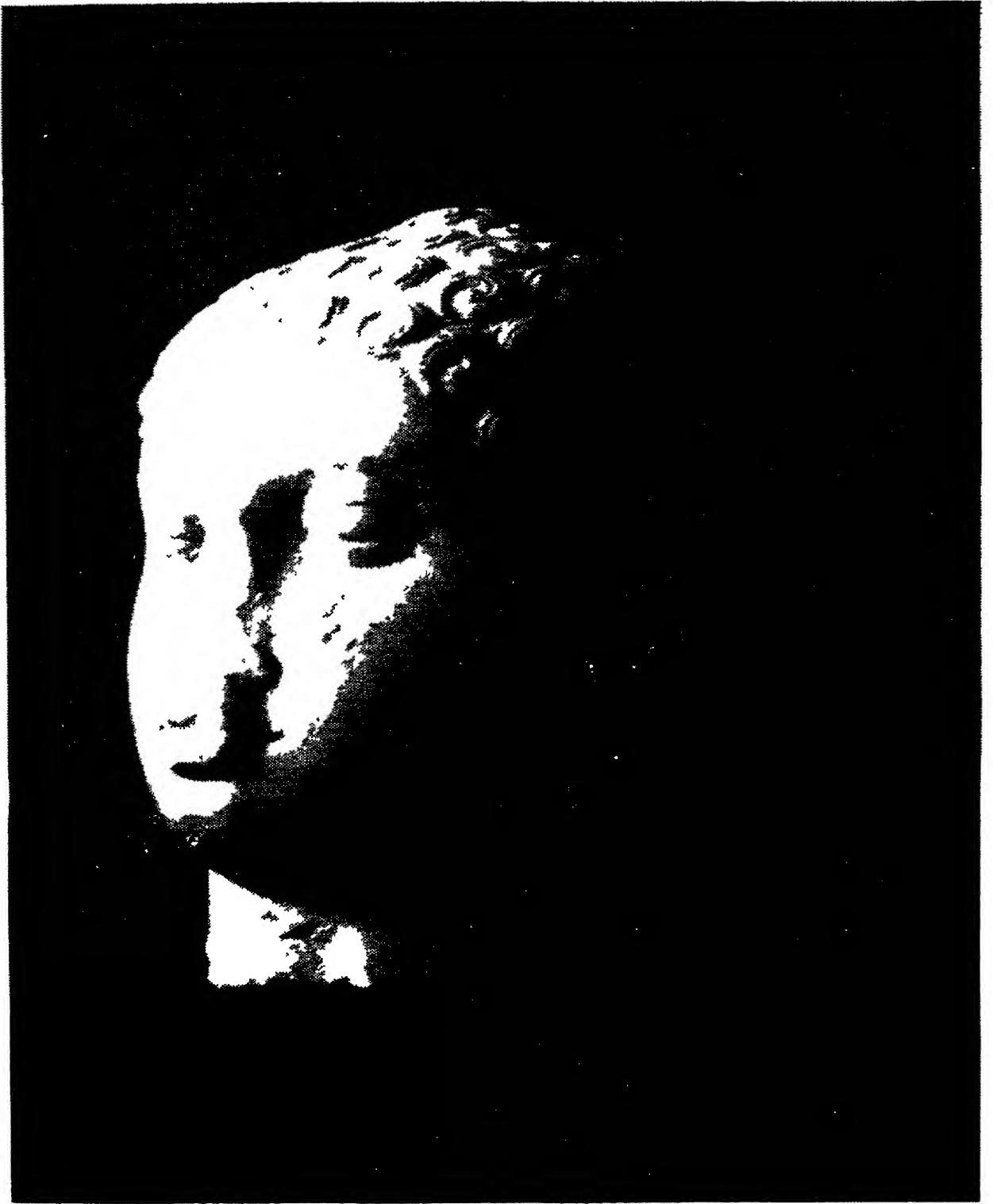


Fig.3 Buddha Head - Nambur(v), Guntur Dist.

EARLY BRĀHMANICAL SCULPTURES FROM NAGARJUNAKONDA

—B. Siva Rajendra Babu

In the excavations conducted in the Nagarjunakonda Valley, a number of Brāhmanical images of iconographic interest were recovered and these have been assigned to the Ikshvāku period i.e. 3rd-4th centuries A.D.¹ What might be the source of inspiration for the Ikshvāku craftsman to produce such beautiful sculptures, is a matter of interest. Image worship in India has great antiquity. Gods mentioned in Vēdic literature pertain to the deification of nature. *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* gives an account of the Vēdic gods who were worshipped to ward off danger and to bring prosperity. Kauṭilya, who flourished during 3rd century B.C. refers to a number of gods in his *Arthaśāstra* while describing the buildings to be constructed within a fort, but no iconographic details of these images are supplied. The alleged Paśupati image depicted on one of the Indus seals perhaps give us a definite clue for image worship in ancient India, but the actual evidence of image worship can be traced only to the time of the Sātavāhanas, who ruled Deccan from 3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. Śiva represented in combination with Rudra and Agni at Gudimallam in Andhra Pradesh is datable to this period². It may be noticed here that the Sātavāhana sculptors followed closely the Vēdic tradition, while carving this image. The Ikshvākus who succeeded the Sātavāhanas in lower Deccan were also followers of the Brāhmanical faith like their predecessors and worshipped a number of deities like Kārttikēya, Bhairava, Kubēra etc. A study of these images reveals that the Ikshvākus were aware of the traditions prevailing in the country and got the images manufactured in accordance with the prescription of *Śilpaśāstras*, locally available. The Ikshvāku rulers as well as the Kushāṇas in North who were also responsible for the introduction of a number of Brāhmanical images, paved the way to the succeeding generations in composition and standardisation of the *Śilpa* texts. Whether early or late, *Śilpa* texts like *Viṣṇudharmōttara*,

Brihatsambhita and *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* help us in identifying these images with descriptions given therein

Siri Chāmtamūla, the first ruler of the dynasty performed many Vedic sacrifice *Aśvamedha*, *Vajapeya* and *Agniṣṭoma*, probably to proclaim his independent status³. He have hailed from the vicinity of Nāgarjunakonda and probably rose to prominence, advantage of the diminishing power of his Satavahana overlord. He was a great devotee of Kārttikeya, who is given the epithet *Virupākshapati Mahāsena Parigahitasa* in the record of Nāgarjunakonda⁴. He constructed temples to Kārttikeya in his capital Vijaya (Nāgarjunakonda). Perhaps, this is the place in South India, where the earliest icon of Kārttikeya, holding a *Kukkūta* had appeared for the first time. Ehuvala Chāmtamūla, grandson of Siri Chāmtamūla and third ruler of the line, was also responsible for the spread of Saivism. His reign witnessed the rise of many temples like Puspabhadrasvami, Sarvadeva and Nodagi. The Puspabhadrasvami temple is apsidal on plan, probably with a barrel-vaulted roof (*Gajaprasthānti*). The inscribed *dhvajastambha* in Sanskrit language describes the Ikshvakus and their descendants of the solar race, belonging to the line of *Maharajasya Sagara-Dilipa-Ambudhi-Yudhishtirātulya-dharma Vijayasya Ramasyeva sarva-janabhiramasya Ikshvakunam*⁵. Vasusen, an Abhira king, during the time of Ehuvala Chāmtamūla, installed an image of Aṣṭabhujaśvami, the earliest icon of that name⁶. The following is a brief description of these icons

Karttikeya

This image (Acc. No. 110, 0.54 X 0.16 mts.) Plate II, carved in round stone and holds *śakti-āyudha* in his right hand and *kukkūta* in left hand placed at waist. The face is unfortunately damaged. *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* prescribes that when an image of Kārttikeya is installed in a village, it should have two hands, carrying *śakti* in his right hand and *kukkūta* in his left hand⁷. The *Śakti-āyudha* or *Vel* is a necessary icon of Kārttikeya, who is called as *Velāyudhan* in Tamil Country.

Bhairava

A fragmentary sculpture (Acc No 147, 0 20 x 0 12 mts Plate III) shown with dishevelled hair, protruding tooth and terrific look, probably is a representation of a four handed Bhairava. The upper right hand possibly holds *śūla* and the lower right hand is broken. The other two left hands are missing. He wears a *makara kuṇḍala* in the extended and elongated right ear. Representing this image with extra pair of hands with attributes, is generally the reason to magnify his ferociousness. Unfortunately, these attributes are missing. *Viṣṇudharmottara* prescribes that Bhairava should be represented with dishevelled hair, wide nostrils and side tusks.

Śivaliṅga

This miniature Śivaliṅga, (Acc No.109, 0 47 x 0 12 (dia) mts Plate IV) under study, falls under the category of *Mānuṣa liṅgas*. *Mānuṣa liṅgas* usually have three parts according to *Viṣṇudharmottara*⁹, the lowest part with square section (*Brahma-bhāga*), the middle part with octagonal section (*Vishṇu-bhāga*) and the top most with circular section (*Rudra-bhāga*), also known as *Pūjā-bhāga*. But the present *liṅga* is cylindrical. The *liṅgas* of early period are represented in cylindrical shape throughout and are fixed in *Arghyas* either square or round in shape. This *liṅga*, in spite of the absence of demarcative sections, is fit for worship since *Brahmasūtra* markings are carved on it.

Nāṇḁi

(Acc No.112, 0.15 x 0 12 mts.) The front legs and hump portion of the couchant Nāṇḁi are slightly damaged.

Gauri

This image, carved in relief upto the knee portion (Acc. No.119, 0.53 x 0.45 mts Plate V) hitherto identified as *Dēvasēna*, can be Gauri. She carries a *śūla* in her right hand and a

damaru in her left hand placed on *kaṭi*. In the background, there is a parasol and a staff with peacock feathers, indicating royal insignia. The figure is crude and the anatomical features are not properly carried out. Even the attributes are not depicted upto the mark.

Mother-Goddess

An image of the mother-goddess, recovered from the valley, represents a nude female figure, seated, fully ornamented and shown with her legs extended (Acc No 7, 0.78 x 0.11 mts.) The image bears an inscription *Siddham Mahādēviya avidhavāya jīvasutāya mahā Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla patīya Khaṇḍuvulīya Kāritātī*¹⁰. This image was installed by Khaṇḍuvula, queen of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla, so that her children may not predecease her and she may live for a long time as a *Sumaṅgalī*. Worship of mother-goddess is graphically described in *Dēvipurāṇa*. The association of vegetation with mother-goddess is as ancient as Indus-valley civilization and in this aspect, she is designated as *Śākāmbarī*¹¹.

Manmatha

This image, carved in high relief (Acc No 141, 0.20 x 0.11 mts., Plate VI) is very interesting. The male figure stands in *samabhaṅga* with *vyatyasthapāda*, wears a turban, holds a bow and a stalk of flowers (*ikshu-daṇḍa* and *Puṣpa-bāṇa*). He wears *kaṇṭhābharāṇa*, *karṇakamalas*, *kēyūras*, *prakoṣṭhavalayas*. He has secured his *aṇṭariya* with *kamarabaṇḍha*, a tassel which forms a loop ends in a knot, on the right side. A lady is seen standing at a corner. The figure, hitherto identified as *Kārttikēya*, can be Manmatha. There is similar representation of Manmatha on the sculptures of Nagarjunakonda (Acc. No.5).

Nidhis

Worship of demi-gods was also in vogue in ancient India. Some of them are common to both for Hindus as well as Buddhists. A few images of demi-gods were also discovered in the excavations and these are described as *Yakshas* in the form of *Nidhis*, *Kubēra*

Vidyādharaś Yakshaś, with their characteristic pot-bellies, are portrayed here as Śaṅkhaṇḍhī and Padmaṇḍhī Śaṅkhaṇḍhī (Acc No II, 0 72 x 0 38 mts, Plate VII) holds a bag of gold coins oozing from a conch placed on his head where as Padmaṇḍhī (Acc No 12, 0 66 x 0.26 mts, Plate VIII) holds a bag of gold coins oozing from a lotus placed on his head. These two ṇḍhīś are prominent among the Naṇḍhīś¹² Worship of these ṇḍhīś was prevalent and became more popular in later days¹³.

Kubēra

The image of Kubēra (Acc. No 145, 0 15 x 0.8 mts. Plate IX) wears *Kaṇaka Kamaḷaś* and plaits of hair twisted into a knot and adorned with a crest jewel A serpent serves as the *udaraḇaṇḍha* Traces of *yajṇopavīta* are also seen *Bṛhatsaṁhita* says, over the head of Kubēra, crown should be represented turned towards left¹⁴ Yakshaś are considered to be the guardians of the treasure, where as Kubēra is their lord being *Dhaṇādhīpati*

Vidyādharaś

Out of three fragmentary images of Vidyādharaś, one image looks majestic (Acc No.97; 0 32 x 0.20 mts.). The other two are in flying posture. (Acc. No 102, 0.27 x 0.25 mts., and Acc. No 97, 0.32 x 0.20 mts.). Vidyādharaś are endowed with magical powers and they assume handsome human forms.(Pl. X, 9, 5).

Attributes

Fragmentary pieces of sculpture showing a hand with a cock (Acc. No.104, 0 20 x 0.12 mts., Pl. XI), trident (Acc. No 114; 0.14 x 0.8 mts., Pl. XII) or conch (Acc No.106; 0.13 x 0.9 mts., Pl. XIII). These are the attributes of Kārttikēya, Gauri, Viṣṇu and may belong to images of these gods which were damaged.

These sculptures enable us to get an idea about the art of the Ikshvāku period. The treatment of the figures is well balanced, proportionate and full of youthful vigour For instance,

representing Kārttikēya some what taller and youthful in appearance, while in contrast Kubera with pot-belly and dwarfish in appearance are good examples for their proportions. Study of the dress and ornaments is also essential, as it is one of the important factors to determine the age of any sculpture on stylistic grounds. In this connection, it is worth quoting a verse from *Brhatsaṃhita* : ' An image should be made in such a way that its ornaments, dress, decoration and form conform to the practices prevailing in the country. If it is possessed of the required good features, it will bestow prosperity by its presence'¹⁵. Accordingly, the age of these sculptures could be determined on the basis of dress and ornamentation. The waist-band with its central tassel, semicircular loop and side knots worn by male and female was typical dress during the time of the Ikshvākus. Head-dress was also worn both by male and female. For instance, the head-dress worn by Kārttikēya is noteworthy (Plate II) - The head-dress of Gauri with *makarika* pendant is beautiful. Even ornaments were worn by both male and female. Heavy *kundālas*, *hāras*, *kēyūras* and *chennavīra* met with in these sculptures belong to the Ikshvāku age. Another interesting feature is that *Yajñopavīta* makes its appearance for the first time in the sculptures of the Ikshvāku period¹⁶.

The occurrence and the prevalence of the Brāhmanical sculpture as compared to the vastness of the Buddhist sculpture is very little, inspite of the fact that Nagarjunakonda valley witnessed the rise of a number of Brāhmanical temples. This paucity has to be explained as that the sculptors, perhaps, did not show any interest or leaning towards sculptural representation in the temples of early centuries of the Christian Era. The conception of the temple builders of the early period bereft of sculptural representation in the temples may be the reason to allow the devotee coming inside the temple, so that he can concentrate on the main deity without diverting his attention to other things.

Acknowledgements

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REFERENCES

- 1 Brāhmanical Sulptures under study were discovered during the course of excavations conducted between the years 1954-60 by Dr.R.Subrahmanyam in Nagarjunakonda valley, Andhra Pradesh (Lat. 16°31' N; Long. 79°14'E) The area is now submerged due to the construction of dam across the river Krishna The sculptures are housed in an island museum under the administrative control of Archaeological Survey of India
- 2 C Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture*, New Delhi, 1961, p.47
3. 'Agihota-Agithōma-Vājapēya-Aśvamēdha Yājisa', *Epigraphia Indica* Vol XX, C4 Ayaka pillar inscription, p.47.
4. *Ibid.*, p.20.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol.XXXIV, p.19.
6. *Indian Archaeology, 1958-59-A review*, p 8 and *Epigraphia Indica*, op.cit, pp.197-204
7. 'Grāmēpi dvibhujah Kāryah Kāntidyuti samanvitah Dakshinēcha bhavē chchaktir=vāme hastētu kukkuṭah'. For Samrāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra see Dr.D.N.Sukla's Vāstusāstra Vol. II under *Bharatiya Vastuvidya series* Vol.IX, Gorakhpur, 1958, p.206

- 8 'Daṁṣṭra Karāḷa Vadanam Pulla nāsāputam tadhā Kapāla mālinam Raudram sarvataḥ sarpabhūṣanam' Viṣṇudharmōttara, Chapter, 59, verse 2.
 9. For Liṅgarūpa lakṣhaṇa see Viṣṇudharmōttara, Chapter 74.
 10. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.
 11. A similar sculpture of mother-goddess was also found from Alampur in Mahaboobnagar Tq. of Andhra Pradesh, belonging to the Western Chālukyan period For details see M.R.Sarma's *Temples of Telingana*, Hyderabad, 1972; p.285 and plate 106
 - 12 'Mahāpadamscha Padmascha Śaṅkhō makara Kachchhupau Mukunda Kuṇḍa Nīluscha Charchāscha nidhayō nava' Amarakōśa, Svarga-varga, Verse 74
 - 13 Sankhanidhi and Padmanidhi gained more popularity during the time of Kaṭiḍasa. He mentions in *Mēghadūtam* : "Dvāropante likhita Vapuṣau Śaṅkha Padmascha dr̥ṣṭvā" *Mēghadūtam*, Chapter II, Verse 20.
 - 14 'Kubērō Vāmakirīṭi Br̥hatkushih ' *Br̥hatsam̐hita* translated by V.Subrahmanya Sastry, Bangalore, 1947, Adhyāya LVIII, verse.57.
- In one of the Mathura figures, he puts on a heavy ear ring hanging down A scarf is fastened round his belly. (Bhagavat Sahai, *Iconography of minor Hindu and Buddhist deities*, p 61) Kubēra obtained from Nalanda is having sacred thread and a crown (Bhagavat Sahai, *Ibid*, p.67)
15. 'Deśānurūpa bhūṣaṇālāṁkāra mūrtibhiḥ
Pratimā lakṣhaṇa yuktā sannihitā Vṛddhita bhavati'.
Br̥hatsam̐hita, op.cit, verse 29.
 16. For details of dress and ornamentation of the Ikshvāku period see Dr.K.Krishnamurti's *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa – A Cultural Study*, Delhi, 1977.



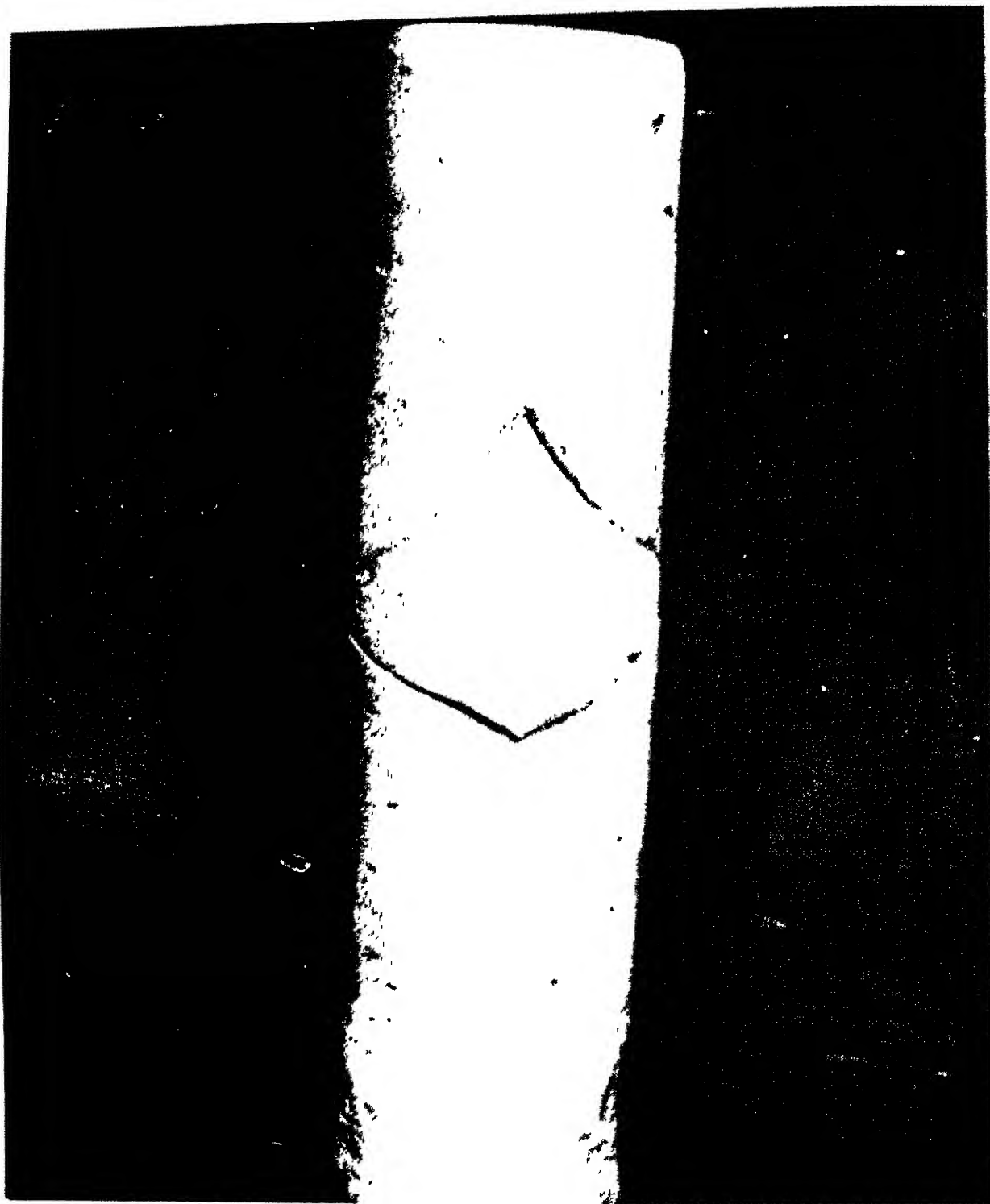
Pl.I. Kārttikeya



Pl II Kārttikeya - Details of Head dress



Pl.III. Bhairava



Pl.IV. Sivalinga



Pl.V Gauri



Pl.VI Manmatha



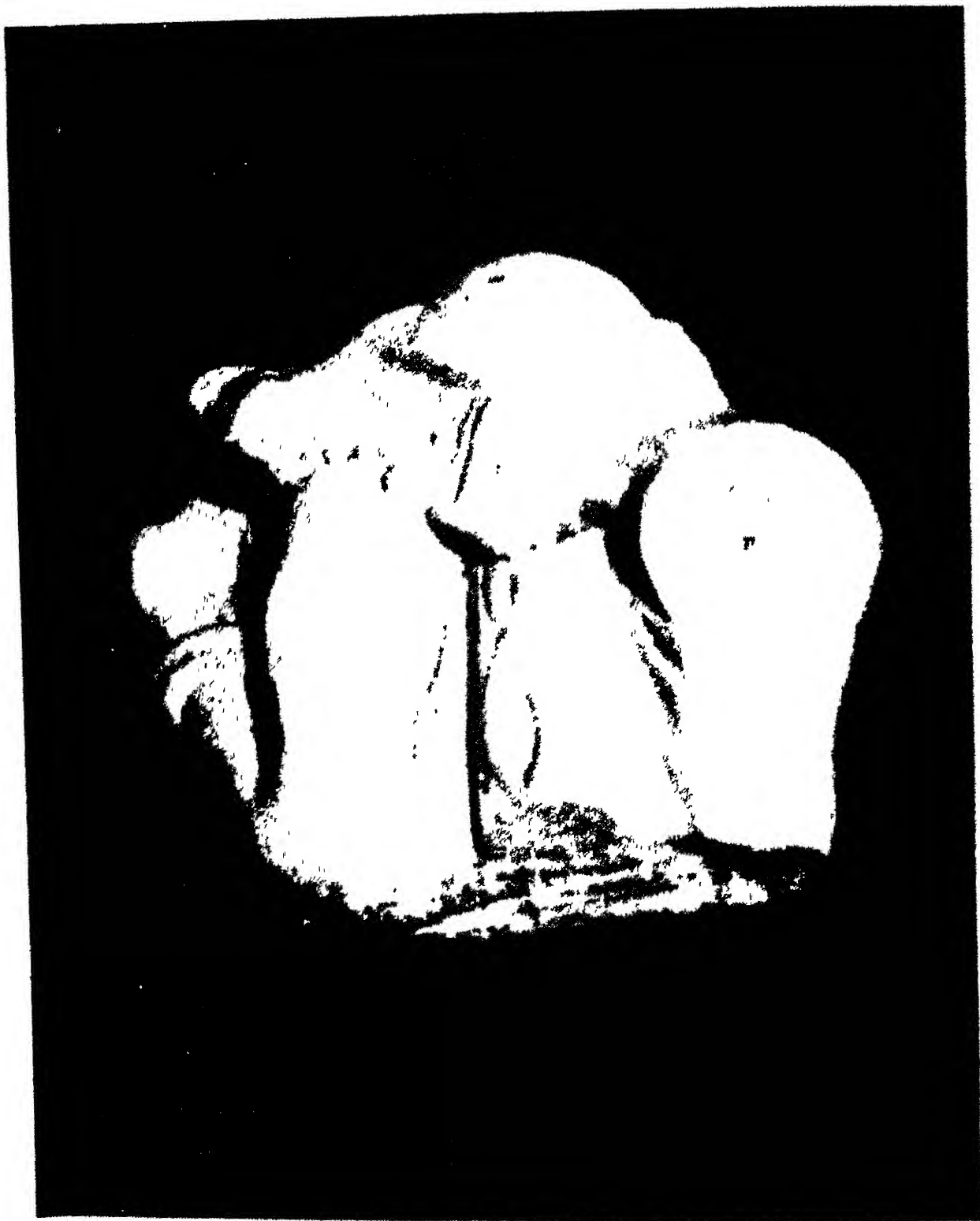
PI VII. Sankha-Nidhi



Pl.VIII. Padma-Nidhi



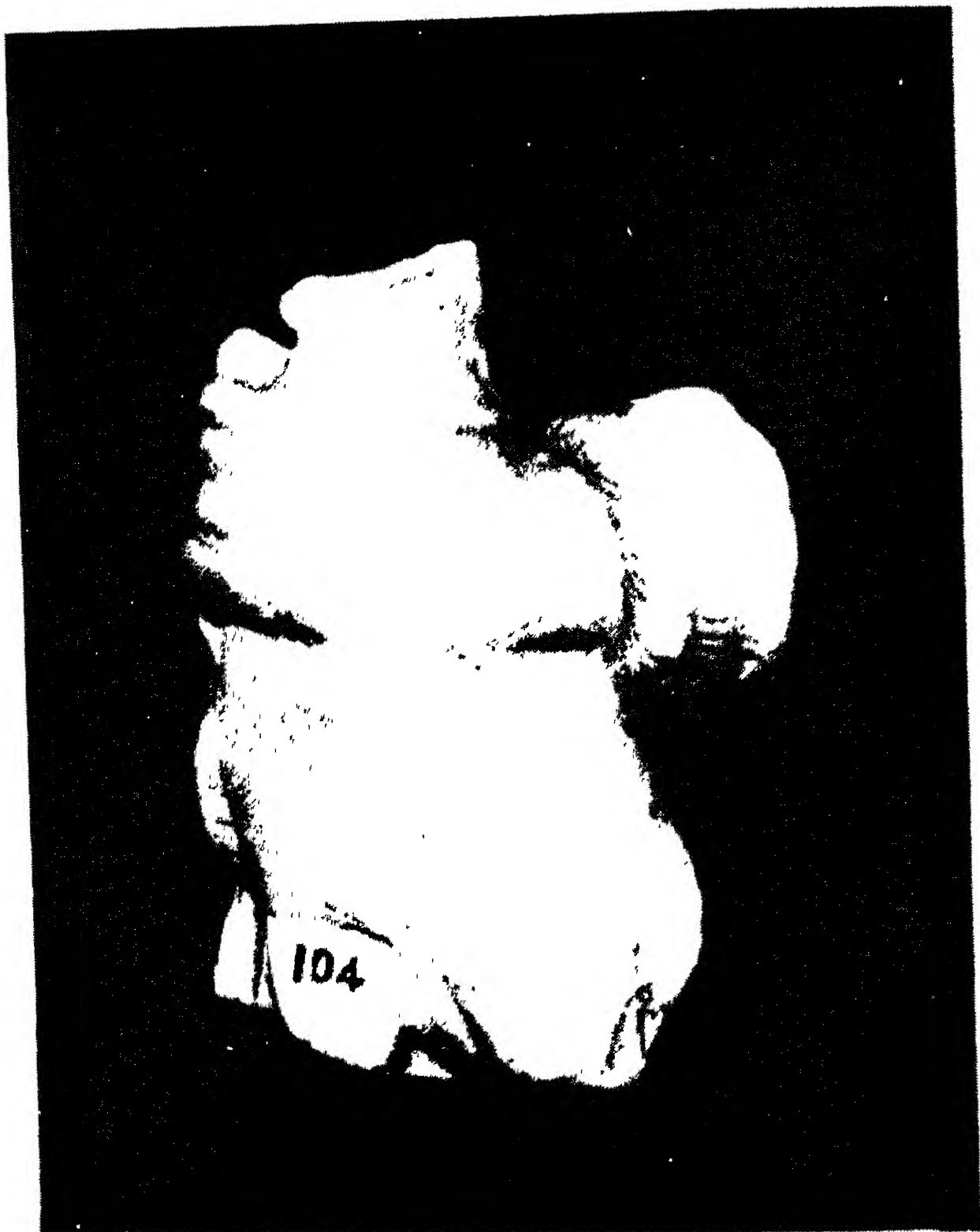
PI IX. Kubera



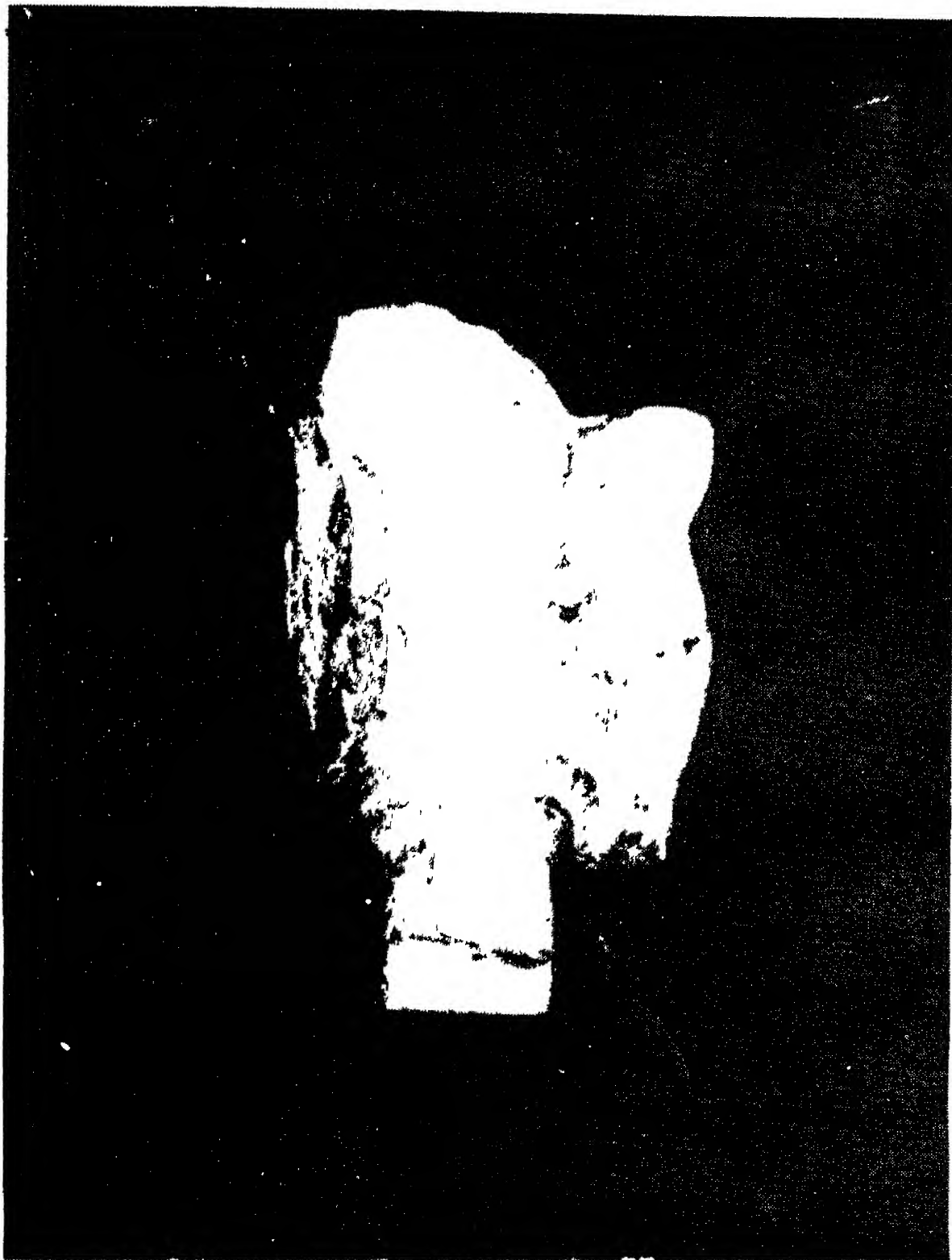
Pl.Xa. Vidyadhara



PI Xb. Vidyadhara



Pl.XI Hand with cock



PI XII. Trident



Pl.XIII. Hand with Conch

JAINA VESTIGES IN SAḶUKKAI

—Prof. K.V.Raman

In the early centuries of the Christian era, Jainism was a popular religion in the Tamil country. According to tradition, it was Bhadrabāhu, who settled at Śrāvaṇabelgōla with Chaṇḍragupta Maurya, started spreading Jainism in South India. In the Tamil country, Jaina settlements and *pallis* appear as early as 2nd century B.C. Some of the Jaina *pallis* were established with royal patronage, to spread Jaina faith and philosophy. For several centuries, Jainism was a dominant religion. However, a set back in the popularity of Jainism could be noticed after about 600 A.D. With the advent of Bhakti cult during the Pallava days in the Tamil country, Jainism had to fight for its survival. Many strongholds were lost to the native religion. The kings neglected many Jaina *pallis*. However, Jainism survived in a remarkable way for many centuries. During the Chōḷa period, many new Jaina *pallis* were established with royal support. Hindu revivalists were still a threat to Jainism upto the 13th century. Probably in that century and also in the following centuries, Jainism survived in a small way. Many of the Jaina *pallis* and settlements fell into ruins. Jains from these ruined settlements migrated to other flourishing centres.

Among the many villages deserted by the Jains during the 13th–14th centuries, Saḷukkai was one, situated in the Wandiwasi taluk of the North Arcot district. It lies 35 kms., south of Kāñchīpuram and is about 4 kms., north of Wandiwasi, the taluk headquarters. There is a ruined Jaina temple¹ on the western side of the village, which was once covered with thick vegetation. In 1980, a cultivator from the village cleared the jungle and levelled the ground in front of the ruined Jaina temple, for purposes of cultivation. He noticed some Bronze images of Jaina *Tīrthāṅkaras* neatly packed inside the earth. They were identified later, as the images of Nēminātha, Dharmanātha and Pārśvanātha².

Salukkai was not the only village in the Wandiwasi taluk, having the ruins of a Jaina temple. Many villages in that taluk have Jaina vestiges. Several of them are mentioned in the inscriptions. A Pallivilāgam of Ādinātha is mentioned in an inscription of Mārvaraman Vikramapāṇḍya in the Ponnur Village³. At Śīyamaṅgaḷam, there existed a Jaina settlement with a *palli*⁴. Two disciples of the Jaina āchārya viz., Maṇḍalacharya Guṇaviradevar are mentioned to have lived at Śīyamaṅgaḷam. Another *palli* existed at Taṇḍapuram, probably the modern Tirukkoi⁵. Kanakavira Chittadigaḷ, a follower of Jaina faith, is also mentioned in an inscription from Tirukkoi⁶. At Rājakēsaripuram, two *pallis* with the names: Gaṅgavarupperumpalli and Maisūttapperumpalli existed⁷, probably from the days of Aditya I Veṅkaṭam, near Wandiwasi had a Jaina settlement, which flourished from the days of Nandivarman II⁸. At Vedai also a *palli* is mentioned in the inscriptions of Nandivarman II⁹. Vedai must have possessed a big Jaina settlement with a large monastery. Āditya I's inscription mentions the quarrels between the ascetics (*tāpasika*) and 500 lay(lady) disciples in the monastery of Madōvi Arandiṁgaḷam at this place¹⁰.

The ruined Jaina temple (Plate :1) at Salukkai faces east and is situated on the top of a small mound. Of the temple, only the *garbhagriha* now remains and the *ardhamaiṇḍapa* was completely destroyed. It can further be observed that there was no front *maiṇḍapa*, as traces of it are not found. The walls of *garbhagriha* consisted of two rows of granite blocks, as was done in the case of other early temples. The outer row of blocks are completely lost. The inner row is intact, over which stands the superstructure, circular in shape. The superstructure was built of brick, which rises to a height of about four feet above the wall. Few courses of bricks remain and no sculptural details are noticed. A portion of the *adhishtana* slabs are visible in some places.

The walls of the *adhishtana* were once engraved with inscriptions, but none is available. At one place some letters, palaeographically datable to the 12th century A.D. are found. The

inner walls and roof of *garbhagriha* should have been plastered and painted, since traces of paintings are visible in some places

There is a seated image of *Tīrthāṅkara* (Plate . 2) inside the *garbhagriha*. It measures about 5 feet in height and carved in high relief. The back of the image is not carved. The features are very well sculptured and the image is devoid of ornamentation. It is placed on a stone pedestal which is smaller than the images, which may indicate that the images later substituted for the original one.

Two more images of *Tīrthāṅkaras* are found lying near the temple, one of which was carved out of a black granite and exhibits a sense of extreme beauty (Plate 3). Below the image is carved a pedestal, devoid of ornamentation. The sacred halo is symbolised in the form of flames, issuing from a semi-circle. Behind the *Tīrthāṅkara*, an ornamental *chatrāvali*, carved almost in the round, is projecting outside. Above the *chatrāvali* is carved, a serpentine floral design. He is flanked on either side by chauri bearers. The head and knees of the image are mutilated. This image, though lying out-side the temple precincts, certainly should have been an ancient one. On the basis of stylistic features, the image may be assigned to the early Chōla period.

The other image of *Tīrthāṅkara* is lying on the west of the temple. The head of the image is broken. It is also a good piece of sculpture exhibiting the charm and grace found in all the images of the Jaina *Tīrthāṅkaras*. The image can be assigned to the early Chōla period.

An epigraph¹¹ of the Chōla king in the Sagarānārāyaṇa Perumāḷ temple mentions the name of the Jaina paḷḷi as 'Vīra Kēraḷap-peruṁpaḷḷi. The Chōla king Rājēndra granted some lands in four villages¹² as *paḷḷichchaṇḍam*. The income from these lands were to be utilised for the upkeep of the Śiva(Manukulamahādēva), Vishṇu(Sagarānārāyaṇa) and Durga temples, situated in the village. Servants and priests (naṁbiyār) were also appointed for temple service. Houses were also given to the servants and priests. Curiously enough, the inscription was

engraved on the walls of the Perumal temple in the village¹³ Since grants to Śiva, Vishṇu and Durga temples were made and a large share went to these temples, it was thought appropriate to engrave the common inscription in the Vishṇu temple.

The Chōḷa king Rājēṇdra, who granted these villages to the temples at Saḷukkai may be identified, with some difficulty The inscription has no *praśasti*, nor has any identifying title. The date of this record is damaged. Only astronomical details (viz.,) Kanni, Pūrvapaksha, Pañchami, Guruvāra and Rēvati, in the reign of Rājēṇdra are mentioned¹⁴. The inscription mentions a title *Tribhuvana Chakravartigaḷ* a phrase most commonly used since the days of Kulōttuṅga I. During his early years Kulōttuṅga I, issued inscriptions in his name as Rājēṇdra¹⁵. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga I, in his fourth regnal year, contains the name Rājēṇdra and his *praśasti* is found in this village¹⁶. Further, the village name 'Saḷukkai' was not used in the pre-Vikramachōḷa inscriptions¹⁷ The inscriptions of Vikramachōḷa¹⁸ and of the later kings¹⁹ use uniformly **Saḷukkai**²⁰ as the name of the village. Along with this, the other name 'Chōḷakēraḷapuram'²¹ was also used. On these considerations, the king Rājēṇdra of this inscription could be identified as Kulōttuṅga I.

The temple's name 'Vīrakēraḷapperum-palli' appears in the inscription of Rājēṇdra, identified with Kulōttuṅga I. It can be surmised that, the name could have been given to the *palli*, by a Chōḷa ruler who had the title *Vīrakēraḷa*. Unfortunately, no Chōḷa ruler with this title is known. Then, it could be the title of a Chōḷa king who obtained it, after vanquishing a king bearing the name 'Vīrakēraḷa'. On this surmise, the problem can be analysed as follows:

So far, five *Vīrakēraḷa* rulers are known from epigraphs. Among them Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Pāṇḍya king who issued the Sivakasi plates had the title *Vīrakēraḷa*²². In the *praśasti* of Rājādhirāja I, a *Vīrakēraḷa* is mentioned. He was a Pāṇḍya ruler, who was defeated and trampled by the elephant of Rājādhirāja I²³. Another *Vīrakēraḷa* is mentioned in the *praśasti* of Kulōttuṅga I whose fingers were cut by the Chōḷa king²⁴. A *Vīrakēraḷa*²⁵ was known through a

recently discovered inscription of Rājārāja I at Chōḷavandan, by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology. On a few coins, found in the Tirunelveli and Chingelput districts, appears the legend 'Vīrakēraḷasya'²⁶. These coins were assigned to a certain Vīrakēraḷa.

Among these 'Vīrakēraḷas', some identify Vīrakēraḷa(Vīrapāṇḍya) of the Sivakasi plates with Chōḷan talai koṇḍa Vīrapāṇḍya(A.D.946-966). Others would identify him with the son of Mānabharana, through a Chēra princess²⁷ and contemporary of Rājādhirāja I (A.D.1018-1054). His throne in the royal palace at Mānābharanam was also named as Vīrakēraḷa²⁸. Any how between A.D.946 and 1054 A.D., the Pāṇḍyas had no hold over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and hence Vīrapāṇḍya could not have established a *pallī* in his name at Saḷukkai. Of the other kings, the position with regard to the Vīrakēraḷa of the inscription of Rājārāja I is not clear, since the inscription was not published. The identity of Vīrakēraḷa, found in the coins is not clearly ascertainable. R.Nagaswamy identifies this Vīrakēraḷa with a Koṅgu Chēra king²⁹. V Venkata Subba Aiyar identifies him with Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, the king of Vēṇāḍu³⁰. However, the same coins were assigned by N.Lakshmi Narayana Rao, to the Pāṇḍya king Vīrakēraḷa of A.D. 1127³¹. Among Rājādhirāja I and Kulōttuṅga III, both could have taken the title 'Vīrakēraḷa', since they have defeated the Pāṇḍya kings bearing Vīrakēraḷa titles. Kulōttuṅga III could not have given his name to the *pallī*, since it was known even earlier. So, the *pallī* could have been named after Rājādhirāja I. It is also to be remembered that, Rājādhirāja I defeated Vīrakēraḷa, (Vīrapāṇḍya) of the Sivakasi copper plates. So, Rājādhirāja I could have obtained the title Vīrakēraḷa. Later on, this name could have been given to the *pallī* established by Rājādhirāja I.

Though, there is no reference to the Jaina *pallī* in any of the early inscriptions, its existence even during pre-Kulōttuṅga I's time could be easily surmised. Kulōttuṅga's inscription³² clearly mentions that, he (Kulōttuṅga) consecrated (*pratiṣṭhā*) the images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Jaina and Durga, thereby indicating their existence in an earlier period. Since the *pallī*

was named after Rājādhiraṇja I, it could be said that the Jains prospered in this village at least from his days. About its earlier existence, no evidence is available at present. Since the images of the *Tīrthāṇkaras* exhibit an early Chōla style, the assumption that a Jaina temple existed in the early Chōla period, may not be totally wrong.

About the disappearance of the Jaina population, some suggestions may be made. The Jains must have left this place by about the beginning of the 14th century A.D. Probably, they sensed the danger and left the place after burying the bronze *Tīrthāṇkaras* within the temple precincts. The way the bronze images were neatly packed inside the earth, could be a guide to understand their intense religious feelings. The damage done to the granite *Tīrthāṇkara* and to the temple, reflects the revengeful attitude of the enemies. The temple was razed completely to the ground, except for the small *garbhagriha*. All the outer enclosures were demolished. These observations would prove that, the Jains were treated with a strong hand and were driven out mercilessly. Since there was no mention of the Jaina *pallī* in the inscriptions of the post-Chōla kings, the date of destruction of the temple could be around the beginning of the 14th century. They could have left the city enmass. At present, there are no Jains at Salukkal³³

REFERENCES

- 1 The village has two more temples . one dedicated to Viṣṇu Sāgaranārāyaṇaperumāḷ temple, and the other dedicated to Śiva Maṇukulamahādēva temple These temples exhibit middle Chōḷa features of architecture. There is an image of Durga planted in the fields. It is sculptured on a slab stone, exhibiting Pallava features.
- 2 These images were in the custody of the Tahsildar of Wandiwasi in 1980. The discovery of the Jaina temple and the bronze images were kindly communicated to Prof. K.V.Raman by Thiru A.Appadurai Mudaliyar of Saḷukkai Thiru Manakhalal Jain of Wandiwasi and Thiru Appadurai Mudaliyar helped the authors in their exploration. We express our thanks to both of them.
3. *Annual Report on Epigraphy (ARE)* 415 of 1928-29.
- 4 *South Indian Inscriptions, (SII)*, Vol.VII, No.441.
- 5 *ARE*. 276 of 1916.
6. *ARE*. 279 of 1916.
7. *SII.*, XII, 297.
- 8 *SII.*, VII, 80.
9. *ARE*. 82 of 1908.
10. *SII*. III, 92.
11. *ARE*. 474 of 1920; *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* Vol.I, No.123.
12. The villages are Erumbur, Kurumbur, Viraperumbakkam and Iluppai, all included in the ancient division Venkunrak-kottam. Erumbur is now in the Wandiwasi taluk and lies about twelve kilometres west of Saḷukkai. Viraperumbakkam, and Iluppai are in the Cheyyar taluk

of the North Arcot district and lies a few kilometres west of Salukkai. The village Kurumbur is in Cheyyar taluk and lies about twelve kilometres north of Salukkai.

13. The inscription is incomplete. Unfortunately the details of the grant made to the Jaina temple are missing.
14. The details are insufficient to calculate the date of inscription precisely. *Śuklapaksha* 5th *tithi* and *Rēvati Nakshatra* can not combine in *Kanni* month. ARE. 1921-22. Appendix F.p 79.
15. K.A Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, p.330.
16. ARE 472 of 1920.
17. Vīrarājēndra's sixth year (A.D.1069) record mentions the village 'Chōlakēralapuram' a *nagaram* in the Veṅkunanāḍu (ARE. 473 of 1920, *SITI*, I, 120). Kulōttuṅga I's fourth year (A.D. 1074) and 49th year (A.D. 1119) inscriptions do not mention the name 'Salukkai', instead, the name 'Chōlakēralapuram' was used (ARE. 472 and 467 of 1920 *SITI*, I, 118).
18. ARE. 473 of 1920 mentions 'Salukkīyāna-chōlakēralapuram. (Salukkai alias Chōlakēralapuram)
19. ARE 466 of 1920 (*SITI*, I 116) dated in the Vijayanagara king Krishṇadēvarāya (A.D. 1518) mentions 'Salukkīyāna Chōlakēralapuram'. In the days of the Pāṇḍya (ARE. 475, 476 of 1920, *SITI*, I, 121,122), Sambhuvaraya (ARE. 469 of 1920) and Vijayanagara (ARE. 466 of 1920) kings, the village Salukkai attained a place of importance in the administration. An administrative division (Salukkipparru) was formed with the centre at Salukkai.
20. If we take the name 'Salukkai' as Tamilised form of the dynastic name 'Chālūkyā' the origin of the village settlement could be dated to Pallava times. Presently, there are no evidences to associate the Chālūkyas with this village. The earliest inscription from the village is assignable to Vīrarājēndra (1069 A.D. ARE of 1920 *SITI*, I 120). However, there are some Pallava vestiges (a Durga image and a squatting lion pillar) but, there is no

possible evidence of Pallava settlement. An inscription of Kṛishṇa III (964 A.D.) from Sannikaviḍi (*ARE*. 132 of 1941-42, part II, para 23) says that, he constructed a temple at a place called 'Chalūḷkipāḍi'. If Chalūḷkipāḍi is identified with Salukkai, the settlement could be associated with the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.

21. The name 'Chōḷakēraḷa' was a title or a name given to members of the Chōḷa royal family. (K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Op.cit.*, page 261) The *prasasti* of Rājēndra II mentions one of his brothers as 'Chōḷakēraḷa' (*SII*. V.195.489). Kulōttuṅga III also took the title 'Chōḷakēraḷa' after defeating the Koṅgu Chēra ruler at Karur (K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Op.cit.*, p.382). The 23rd year inscription of Kulōttuṅga III (*ARE* - 75 of 1925) also mention the title 'Chōḷakēraḷadēva' to Kulōttuṅga III (K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Op.cit.*, p 398).
22. *Pāṇḍiyar Cheppedugal Pattu* (Tamil) Tamil Varalakkalagam, p.191, l.53. (Sivakasi copper plates).
23. *SII*. III, 28, See also K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Op.cit.*, p.221.
24. *SII*. III, 88, See also K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Op.cit.*, pp.380, 381.
25. R. Nagasamy, *Tamil Coins*, Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu (Madras), p.15.
26. N.Lakshminarayana Rao, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India(JNSI)* Vol.IX, p.103.
27. *Pandiyar Cheppedugal Pattu*, p.184.
28. *ARE*. 1961-62, p.16-17.
29. R.Nagasamy, *Tamil Coins*, p.15.
30. V.Venkatasubba Aiyar, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.XXVII, p.306, fn.1.
31. N.Lakshminarayana Rao, *Op.cit.*, Vol.IX, p.103.
32. *ARE*. 474 of 1920. *SITI*, I, 123.
33. We thank the Chief Epigraphist of India, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore for permitting us to use the unpublished texts of inscriptions kept in his office at Mysore.



Pl.1. Ruined Jain Temple - Salukkai(v), Wandiwasi Tq., North Arcot Dist.



PI 2 Thirthankara, Jaina Temple at Salukkal(v)



Pl.3. Tirthankara - Salukkai(v), (early Chōla period)

JAINA EPIGRAPHS OF ĀNDHRA

—Dr. G.Jawaharlal

Ancient relics, inscriptions and traditions indicate that many a ruling prince and eminent officials of the State, poets, business community and men of all walks of life came under the influence of Jainism and fervently followed the path of Jaina religion. Robert Sewell¹ was the first to report the existence of Jaina antiquities and remains in almost all the Districts of Āndhra. Though archaeological evidence is strong enough to show that Jainism held firm ground in Āndhra as a widely popular religion for twelve centuries or even more, this topic has not received adequate attention so far. The history of Buddhism in Āndhra is well studied and documented, but very little is written about Jainism. The reasons for the aversion of scholars towards Jainism are not known. Now a spectacular change is noticed. Some sporadic attempts have already been made to cull out the history of Jainism in Āndhra. The staff of the Epigraphy branch of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad had collected a good number of Jaina epigraphs. Even then, the study of Jaina epigraphs in Āndhra still remained an untrodden field. Moreover, the Jaina epigraphs possessed some distinct features. Hence, an attempt is made here to bring out the salient features of the Jaina epigraphs found in Āndhra.

The Jains constitute to-day a small community in Āndhra, but once they commanded great respect among the Āndhras. This is clearly borne out by the Jaina epigraphs. They point out that rulers have given grants to Jaina-basadis due to the pressure of people. Patronised by the rulers and members of royal families and warmly supported by the populace, Jainism grew from strength to strength in Āndhra until 12th century A.D. and finally became a victim of religious persecution and was at last completely stamped out from the surface of Āndhra in the wake of Muslim invasions.

Archaeological evidences like early Sātavāhana coins² near a Jaina Cave, near Kapparaṣpet in Karīmnaḡar District and the recent discovery of inscriptions of Mahāmēḡhāvāhana Chiefs at Guntupalli³ in West Godavari District and at Vaddamanu⁴ in Guntur District lead us to believe that the beginnings of Jainism in Āndhra definitely go back to the pre-Mauryan times. The tenets of Jainism, particularly, *Ahimsa*, were familiar to the people of Āndhra, even before the gospel of Buddha reached them. This familiarity with its characteristic doctrine of non-violence only, prepared the Āndhras to welcome the Buddhist doctrine promulgated by Aśoka. In other words, the early prevalence of Jainism in Āndhra must have paved way for the popularity of Buddhism in Āndhra in no time. Moreover, *Haribhadriya-vṛtti*,⁵ states specifically that, Mahāvīra himself preached his doctrine at Mōsali, after visiting Kalinga. Now, Mōsali is identified with Maisōlia of the classical writers, who located it between the mouths of the rivers Gōdavarī and Krishnā. Now scholars have come to the conclusion that the latest archaeological discoveries, which tend to support the Jaina tradition recorded in the *Haribhadriya vṛtti*, would take the origin of Jainism in Āndhra to the pre Mauryan period.

Jaina epigraphs follow a peculiar, rather say, a distinct pattern. They never reveal the royal pomp and power of the rulers, like other records. They chiefly display other points of interest pertaining to the proliferation of the Jaina monastic orders, the great Jaina preceptors and their pedigrees. Further, the formulae of the Jaina epigraphs is quite peculiar. In them first comes the date, then follows the name of the revered teacher, then, comes the mention of the school and the sub-division to which he belonged, and finally the persons, who made the gift are referred to. The description of the details of the gifts forms the conclusion. Most of the Jaina epigraphs of Āndhra have begun with the following benedictory verses in praise of Lord Jina

1. Śrīmat Parama gaṁbhīra syādvādamōgha tāmchanam Jiyāt trailokyā nūthasya śāsanaṁ
Jina śāsanaṁ

(May the doctrine of the Lord Jina be Victorious, the doctrine which is the ordinance of the overlord of the three worlds and which bears the glorious and supremely profound *Syādvāda* (theory of May-be; as its infalliable characteristic mark)

- 2 *Svasti samasta surāsura mastaka makutāṃsu Jāḷajala dhauta- padam prastuta Jinēndra śāsanaṃastu chiraṃbhadraṃ akhila bhavyajanānām* (Hail! May it confer prosperity on all its faithful followers, the highly praised ordinance of Lord Jina whose feet are washed by the water which is the assemblage of rays shooting from the diadems on the crests of all the gods and demons)

Some epigraphs are also found without the above benedictory verses

As said above, the Jaina epigraphs, being religious in character, gave importance to the Jaina-Dharma; they never refer to the greatness of the rulers, but mention the proficiency of the Jaina-āchāryas. So these epigraphs, unlike other records, have been classified, on descriptive basis but not on dynastic basis, as under -

- 1 Memorial, which record the death of either a Teacher or a pious disciple,
- 2 Architectural, which mention the construction of a *basadi*, etc
3. Votive, which mention the gifts,
4. Iconographic, which refer to the consecration of images,
5. Commendatory, which emphasise on the greatness of a place or a Teacher

Among the Jaina records, votive records are numerous. They register gifts of land, villages taxes⁶ etc., due for Jaina monks and monasteries. In a word, they are meant for meeting the maintenance cost of the monks and monasteries, for undertaking repairs of the *basadis*⁷ and also for running charity houses⁸. Of the votive records, the Musinikonda grant of Vishnuvardhana III⁹ may be considered as a land-mark in the history of Jainism in Āndhra, as.

it is the earliest record, which speaks of the prosperous state of Jainism in Āndhra. Further, it refers to the venerable community of the *Surāshṭra-gaṇa* or *Kāvūrigaṇa* of *Saṃgi ānvaya*, which had its seat at modern Vijayawada. It records the grant of the village of Musirikonḍa in the *Toṇka-Nāṭavādi* *Vishaya*, to the venerable Kalibhadrāchārya, for the benefit of the Jain temple, *Neḍumbivasadi* at Bezavada, presumably built by Ayyana-mahādēvi, queen of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana (A.D. 624-641), the founder of the Chālukyas of Vēngi. The record also mentions the lineage of the pontiff, Kalibhadrāchārya. It renews the grant of the village Musirikonḍa during the period of Vishṇuvardhana III (A.D. 718-752). Kalibhadrāchārya, who got the grant renewed, is said to have been the seventh in line from Chaṇḍraprabha, the first pontiff of the *Vasadi*. It is also mentioned that Chaṇḍraprabha's pupil's pupil was Ravichāṇḍrāchārya, whose disciple's disciple was Ravinaṇḍin, whose disciple was Kalibhadrāchārya, the preceptor of the *Neḍumbi-vasadi*, during the time of Vishṇuvardhana III. Now, the first recorded Jaina establishment, *Neḍumbi-vasadi* at Vijayawada is not traceable. Very recently, three copper plates¹⁰ belonging to the Eastern Chālukya King Vishṇuvardhana II (A.D. 678-681) have been discovered at Peddapurpadu, East Godavari District. They register a gift of land given to a certain Jināchārya, Kanakanāṇḍin, who belonged to the *Yāpanīya Saṃgha* for the maintenance of a Jaina basadi.

The greatest patron of Jainism among the Eastern Chālukyan Kings was Amma II (A.D. 945-70). Though he is styled as *Paramamāhēśwara* in his records, he seems to have patronised Jaina institutions, for, his copper-plate records, namely Mallampundi,¹¹ Masulipatnam¹² and Kaluchambarru¹³ speak of the munificent benefactions made by him for the benefit of Jaina temples and priests. It is apparent from his records, that he, though a devout Saivite, made grants to the Jaina temples, perhaps, in order to please his officers and people and to keep them loyal to him.

Next come the Jaina memorial records which are valuable for the study of Jaina practices. The *Salīḥkhana-vow*, the mode of death practised by the Jains, is repeatedly referred to in about 15 records. The Jaina centres like Danavulapadu in the Cuddapah District, Bodhan in the Nizamabad District, Chippagiri in Kurnool District, Hemavati and Amarapuram in Anantapur District, and Kulpak in Nalgonda District were considered to be sacred and faithful followers of Jainism proceeded there for terminating their lives through *Salīḥkhana-vow*.

The Rāshtrakūṭas and their subordinates, were devout Jains Amōghavarsha I (A.D 814-880) had great leanings towards Jainism. Baṅkeya and his son Lōkāḍitya, who were the Viceroys of Banavāsi during the time of Amōghavarsha I, were staunch followers of Jainism. It is known from an inscription found at Hemavathi¹⁴ in Anantapur District that, Baṅkeya's son Kuṇḍate died after observing *Sanyāsana* for thirty days. It is a unique record in the sense that the practice of *Kīlguṇṭe* or self-immolation is depicted on an inscriptional slab. It becomes clear from the carving that the person who wanted to become *Kīlguṇṭe* used to lie down on the pyre and supported the body of the deceased from below, or served as bed to the dead body, without allowing it to touch the ground. Further, Śrī Vijaya, the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Indra III (A.D. 915- 917) was unsurpassed in the military art and a devout Jain. It is also known from a record found at *Danavulapadu*¹⁵ in Cuddapah District that Śrī Vijaya observed the vow of '*Sanyāsana*' and terminated his life. It is stated in an inscription¹⁶ of 10th Century Characters that a certain Subhanaḍidin, by practising the *ratnatraya*, namely *Samyagdarśana*, *Samyag-Jñāna* and *Samyakcharitra* attained *saṃādhi* at Bodhan, Nizamabad District. It is popularly called as Paṃpa *saṃādhi*. Further, from the records found in Kulpak of Nalgonda District, it is apparent that a certain Mēghachandra- Siddhāntadēva, belonging to *Mūla-Saṅgha*, *Kānūrgaṇa* and *Mēshapāshaṇa-gachcha*, observed *Sanyāsana-vow* and entered *saṃādhi* during the time of Tribhuvanamalladēva¹⁷ (i.e., Vikramāditya VI).

Over 14 records register gifts to the construction and repairs to the Jaina-basadis. It is apparent from these records that the *Jinālayas* were not merely centres of religious worship but functioned as centres of learning and ran charity houses, too. Further, some Jaina records contain information on the Architectural terms for the various parts of the Jaina temple. Thus, an inscription from Amarapuram¹⁸ in Anantapur District states that a certain Mallisētti, son of Bommiṣētti, gave Tammadahalli and 2000 areca trees to Pārśvanātha *basadi*, popularly known as Brahma Jinālaya in the Saka year 1200 while Iruṅgoṇḍadēva Chōḷa Mahārāja was ruling from Nidīgallu. We are further told, in the same record, that the income derived from 2000 areca trees was to be used for the reconstruction, with stone from the foundation to the *Pinnacle (Upānāthi-Stūpi-Paryantam)* of the Brahma-Jinālaya, with the *Mahāmaṇḍapa*, *Bhādramaṇḍapa*, *Lakṣmī Maṇḍapa* *gōpura* *Parisūtra* (enclosure) *Vaīḍaṇamāla* (festoons), *Mānastambha* and *Sāmpūrṇavāhana* and *makarātōraṇa*. It is indeed unique, that, it is the only Jaina record that sheds light on the Structural and decorative aspects of a Jain *basadi*. Sri K.V.Saundararajan¹⁹ has rightly observed that these terms clearly show how the temple forms were basically affiliated to the southern *Vimāna* order, where such terms were current. It is known from a Jaina record found at Danavulapadu²⁰ of Cuddapah District that the Rāshtrakūṭa King Indra III constructed a stone seat for the bath of the image of Śāntinātha. Further, the Vemulavada inscription²¹ informs that Baddega II, the Chief of the Chāḷukyas of Vēmulavāḍa, constructed a Jinālaya named Subhadāma-Jinālaya for the favour of a scholar named Sōmadēva-sūri, the author of the *Yaśastilaka-charṇpū*. Similarly, the Padmākshi temple inscription²² refers to the construction of the *Kaḍalālaya basadi* on the top of the hill, by Malama, wife of Bēta, Minister of Kākati Prōla II.

Among the six Jaina records which fall under Iconographic group, an inscription of the King Aṇṇikēsa II found at Kurkiyala,²³ Karimnagar District, is of immense interest. It records the installation of the *Ādyanta* (the first and the last), Jina images and also the figure of Chakrēśwari

on the *Siddha-Sīla* by Jinavallabha, son of Bhīmapayya and younger brother of Pāṃpā, who is considered to be the "Ādikavi" in Kannada literature. It is unique in several ways. For the first time it is known that Jinavallabha was the younger brother of Pāṃpā and originally they belonged to *Vēṅgī-nāḍu*. It also puts at rest the theory that though the worship of yakshi or *Śāsanadēvi* was prevalent among Jainas, none of the Jaina epigraphs found in Āndhra, refer to the installation of Yakshi²⁴. Further, the Sirur inscription of Bhuvanaikamalla (Sōmēśwara II) dated 1074 A.D. informs that *Mahā sāmanta* Aggaḷarasar, who is described as *Śāsanadēvilabdha vara prāsāda*, made a gift of land for the maintenance of the *basadi*. It indirectly informs that *Mahāsāmanta* Aggaḷarasar was a disciple of *Śāsanadēvi*.

Among the records which fall under commendatory class, Tatikonda²⁵, Ramatirtham²⁶, Patasivaram²⁷, and Bodhan²⁸ epigraphs are important. They all praise the Jaina-dharma and Jaina teachers. It is known from a record found at Bodhan, Nizamabad District, that the great teacher Chaṇḍraprabhadēva went into *Samādhi* and attained the abode of Indra. A lengthy description about the greatness of the deceased Jain-āchārya forms the text of the inscription. He is said to have possessed worthy qualities like *Kshama*, *Satya*, *Niyama*, *Saucha*, *Tapas*, *Tyāga* and *Saṃnyama*, in addition to his unparalleled proficiency in all the branches of knowledge and virtues. It is also apparent that the saint, Trikālayōgi Siddhāntadēva, who was the spiritual teacher of the Chāḷukya king Vimalāditya, paid respects to Rāmakonḍa²⁹ with great devotion. The Patasivaram record³⁰ brought to light an eminent teacher, Padmaprabha. While the western Chāḷukya King Sōmēśwara IV was ruling, his preceptor, Padmaprabha attained *mukti* from wordly bondage on February 24th A.D. 1185. We are also told that the illustrious Padmaprabha was always engaged in contemplating the Supreme Truth. He is rightly identified by Prof. P.B.Desai³¹ with the author of a commentary known as *Tātparyavritti* on the *Niyamasāra* of Kuṇḍakuṇḍa.

The period from 7th to the 12th century was the most eventful in the history of the Jaina Church in Āndhra. It began with the establishment of several new monastic orders in Āndhra. These monastic orders are suggested by terms like *Saṅgha*, *Gaṇa*, *Gachcha*, *Bali*, *Samudava* etc. As said earlier, it is a common practice for the Jaina records to mention *Saṅgha*, *Gaṇa*, *Gachcha* to which the revered teacher belonged. Some times, the terms *gaṇa* and *gachcha* are used as synonymous. In some cases, the epigraphs furnish only *gaṇa* and *gachcha*, omitting *saṅgha*, while in some cases, they mention only *Saṅghā* without giving sub-divisions like *gaṇa*, *gachcha* etc.

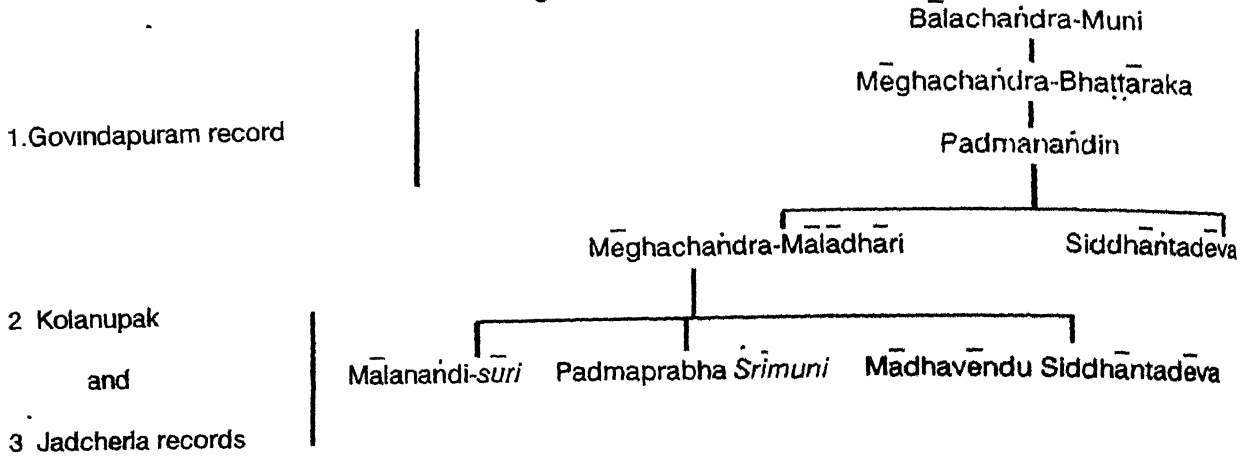
The Chālukyas of Vēṅgi were a collateral branch of the imperial Chālukyas of Bādāmi. They came from Karnataka and established their sway over Āndhra. This paved way for the migration of Jains from Karnataka. It is quite clear from the Musinikonda grant of Vishṇuvardhana III³² that Chaṇḍraprabha, the founder of the *Neḍuṁbi vasadi* at Vijayawada migrated from the Western Deccan along with Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana to Vēṅgi country. Further, due to matrimonial alliances between the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi and the Rāshtrakūṭas, frequent migrations of Jains from Karnataka to Āndhra and *vice-versa* took place. The spirit of toleration shown by the rulers and others led to the proliferation of the Jaina monastic order into small groups. The religious toleration and impartial attitude of the rulers made members of the same family to promote different religions. For example, Ayyaṇamahādēvi, wife of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, who was a Saivite, built *Neḍuṁbi vasadi* at Vijayawada³³. Similarly, Amma II, who was *paramamāhēśwara* is known to have issued grants to Jaina temples at the request of his Jaina generals³⁴. Further, it is also evident that rulers, his officials of State, vassal kings, feudal lords, poets, scholars and merchants and also masses of all classes happened to be followers of the Jaina faith in Āndhra. Even courtesans have become staunch followers of Jainism. It is known from the Kaluchumbarru (modern Kanchumarru, West Godavari District) plates³⁵ that Amma II gave the grant of the village Kaluchumbarru to the Jaina teacher

Arhanandin, at the request of his favourite courtesan(*ganika*), Chāmekāmba of the Pattavardhana family. It is also known that early exponents like Kuṇḍakuṇḍāchārya, Simhanandin, poets like Paṇḍita, Jinavallabha and Sōmadēvasūri not only enhanced the prestige of Jainism, but also popularised the creed among the people of Āndhra.

The earliest monastic group was *Mūla-Saṅgha* which was predominant in the South including Āndhra and figures prominently in records. The *Mūla-Saṅgha* was followed by the *Yāpanīya-Saṅgha*. Next to *Mūla-Saṅgha*, it was considered to be the most important monastic order in Āndhra. Mentioned first in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela³⁶, in the 7th century, the monks of this order had spread into the kingdom of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. The recent discovery of three copper³⁷ plates of Vishṇuvardhana II (A.D. 673-681) brought to light a certain Jināchārya Kanakanaṇḍin, who belonged to *Yāpanīya-Saṅgha*. It is evident from the records of Āndhra that, Yāpanīyas had strong holds at Nadupur³⁸ in East Godavari District, Dharmavaram³⁹ in Prakasam District and Rayadurgam⁴⁰ in Anantapur District. Similarly, the *Draviḍa-Saṅgha*⁴¹ and *Gauḷi Saṅgha*⁴² are also referred to in the Jaina records of Āndhra.

Among the *gaṇas*, *Dēśī-gaṇa* is important. In many records the *Dēśī-gaṇa* is referred to as a branch of the *Mūla-saṅgha* and as *Kuṇḍakuṇḍānvaya*. Though *Kānūr-gaṇa* is considered to be a less known Jaina order of South India, Jaina records of Āndhra furnish valuable details regarding its teachers⁴³. The Govindapuram record of Mēḍarāja dated A.D.1122⁴⁴, Kolanupak inscription of Tribhuvanamalladēva dated A.D.1125⁴⁵ and Jadcherla Jaina record of Bhūṭōkamalla dated A.D.1132⁴⁶ disclose the line of preceptors belonging to the *Kānūr-gaṇa* and *Mēshapāshaṇa-gachcha*.

Pedigree of Teachers



From the above, it becomes clear that Mēghachandra Siddhāntadēva of Govindapuram, Kolanupaka and Jadcherla records is one and the same, in view of the fact that Mēghachandra of the above three records is said to have installed Pārśvanātha.

Very recently, one great physician who embraced Jainism came to light. Since Vaidyāchārya Ugrāditya, who wrote "*Kalyāṇakāraka*"⁴⁷ a complete treatise on the science of medicine, during the reign of the famous Eastern Chālukya monarch, Viṣṇuvarḍhana IV (A.D. 762-99), no other expert in medicine, following the Jain faith, has been known so far in Āndhra. The recent sensational discovery of two records, one at Saidapur in Nalgonda District⁴⁸ and another at Sirur in Medak District⁴⁹ brought to light, the existence of one great royal Physician Aggaḷayya, who belonged to Yāpanīya-Saṅgha, Mālava-gaṇa and flourished during the period A.D. 1034-1074. As per the above records, Aggaḷayya possessed the *brūdas* like *Vaidyaratnākara*, *Prāṇāchārya*, *Vaidyāśikhāmaṇi* and *Jagadēkavaidya*. We are further told in the Saidapur record⁵⁰ that Aggaḷayya was an expert in *Āyurvēda Śāstra* and *Śāstra* (Surgery). He is specially praised as a specialist, having the power to cure the most incurable diseases pronounced as such by other physicians (cf. *aśakya byāḍēpi pariaḥ bhishagbhirvyādhi pra[karshē] tadupakramēcha tāṁ Agga-lāryaṁ punahudakshaṁ nirūhadakshaṁ kathayaṁti*

chitrām) Stunned with the expertise of Aggalayya in the field of *Āyurvēda Śāstra-Chikitsa*, King Jayasīṃha II (A.D.1020-1042) conferred on him the status (*Prathipattī*) of *Mahāsāmānta* in A.D.1034. Besides, the people are said to have constructed a Jinālaya at Ikkuriki and named it as *Vaidyaratnākara* only to express their gratitude to Aggalayya suitably.

Generally, the waxing and waning of any religion depends mostly on its preceptors, poets and propagandists. It is found true in the case of Jainism also particularly in Āndhra, for, the glorious period of Jainism in Āndhra produced a marvellous galaxy of Jaina authors who gained popular support by their illuminating discourses and writings. The early exponents like Kuṇḍakuṇḍāchārya and Sīṃhanāṇḍin took upon the missionary work by expounding the tenets of the Jaina creed among the people. It is also obvious from the Jaina epigraphs that these Jaina exponents were not merely the exponents of dogmas, but were also the leaders of people and guides to the ruling princes.

The Jaina poets like Paṃpa, Jinavallabha, Sōmadēvasūri, Padmaprabha, Ponnā etc., never being fanatics but gently persuasive, did yeoman service to the propagation of the Jaina religion among the people. They composed several works in the regional language to spread Jainism among the people of the age. Among the poets, Jinavallabha needs special mention, for, he came to light through a single record⁵¹ found at Kurkyala in Karimnagar District. Generally, poets are known by their literary works. We are informed in the record that Jinavallabha was a disciple of Jayamaghaṇḍa-Siddhāntabhattachāra of Pāṇḍaraṅgavalli, Potheḡa-bali, Dēśī-gaṇa and Kuṇḍakuṇḍānvaya and was the younger brother of Paṃpa (*Paṃpābhīdhānānujāḥ*). He had several honorific titles like *Sakala-kaḷāpravīṇa*, *Bhavyaratnākara* and *Guṇapakṣhapāṭin*. Regarding his proficiency, we are told that he was famous for his skill in composing poetry and could write excellent *Kāvya*s in various styles. He was proficient in music and was the only person, who could be the master of Goddess of

learning(*Vāgavadhū-Varavallabha*) Though his ability and eminence in all arts are said to have been unrivalled, no literary work of Jinavallabha is available.

Dr N.Venkataramanayya, the editor of the record was quite correct in saying that Jinavallabha may have been himself the author of the Kurkyala record, for, the verses in all the three languages employed in it could not have been the product of an ordinary writer. Besides these scholars, the epigraphs contain information regarding a large number of teachers and monks of the Jaina order. They also must have preached Jaina thought through their discourses and gathered a large following.

Lastly, the Jaina records do not supply the correct reasons for the decadence of Jainism in Āndhra. However, the literary sources⁵² inform us that the hostile propaganda, coupled with ruthless religious persecution⁵³, indifference of kings and lack of Jaina preceptors are responsible for rapid decadence of Jainism in Āndhra. Thus, the Jaina epigraphs provide a vivid picture of Jainism itself, namely its monastic orders, growth and decline in different regions and periods.

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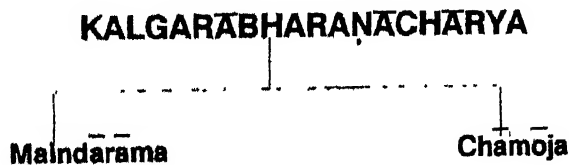
THE JALPĒŚVARA TEMPLE AT AYYAṄGĀRIPĀLEM

— C.A. Padmanabha Sastry

The temple of Jalpēśvara, locally known as Bobbaranāyaka guḍi, is situated on the southern bank of the river Krishna near Ayyaṅgāripālem¹, Palnadu Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. On stylistic and epigraphical grounds, this temple is assigned to the Eastern Chāḷukyan period. Even though references are made to this temple in the works on architecture, no detailed study has been made so far. The inscriptions² engraved on the *mukhamāṇḍapa* pillars do not provide any date or name of the kings of that period. However, inscriptions refer to the temple as Jalpēśvara and further inform that, it was constructed by Maindārāma, who is otherwise called as *Kalgarābharaṇāchārya* of Kammanāḍu.

Note on the Inscriptions

Sri M.S. Sarma³ says that, this temple was built by a certain Maindārāma, who was also called as *Kalgarābharaṇāchārya* of Kammakula. Two more inscriptions from the same temple refer to the shrine Jalpēśa and the architect Maindārāma. Dr. N.P. Chakravarty⁴ mentions about the identity of Āchārya and further states that, this temple was constructed by the above person of Kammakula, of the fourth caste. Dr. K. Sundaram⁵ opines that, there was no such word as *Kammakula* in the inscription, but he read it as *Karmjña*. He further reads the inscription as *Chaturthasyādhi Karaṇa Karmjña Kusāla pradē Kalgarābharaṇāchāryya ācharyyō pravarōjini*. As per the inscriptions, it is clear that the temple was constructed by Maindārāma and Chāmōja was the āchārya of the temple. Both were the pupils of the greatmaster *Kalgarābharaṇāchārya*. The following genealogy can be framed from these inscriptions



The temple on plan (*Tālachchaṇḍa*) consists of a *mukhamāṇḍapa*, an *antarāḷa* and a *garbhagriha*. The entire structure measures 20'6" x 48'. As usual the temple is oriented towards east (pl 1).

The eastern side of the *mukhamāṇḍapa* is completely ruined, except for the doorjambs. The architectural elements from the lintel onwards are missing. The jambs are decorated with (from the outermost to the interior jambs in order) the *lata*, *starṇbha* and *patra*. At the bottom of these *śākhas*, is carved a *pūrṇakumbha*, from which the stem of the *lata* goes in meanders and the lotus petals and the buds are shown in semicircles. The *starṇbha śakha* shows an octagonal fluted shaft, supporting rectangular cube, above which a tall *lasūna*, *tāṭi*, *ghaṭa*, *phalaka* and a *pōtika* are arranged, one over the other respectively. The *patra śakha* shows a shallow carving. At the base of the right and left jambs, the images of Nandi and Māhākāḷa are carved respectively in different postures. The southern wall of the temple is almost plain with a *vātāyana*, carved at the centre. The *prastara* part of the *mukhamāṇḍapa* shows two plain flat mouldings, with a *kapōta* resting over it. The western face of *mukhamāṇḍapa* has an empty *Dēvakōshṭa* surmounted by a plain and less decorated *makara tōraṇa*.

The wall portion of the *antarāḷa* does not possess any decorative elements. The other faces also bear similar features.

The wall (*pāda*) portion of the *garbhagriha* shows interesting features. It is relieved into three sections viz, *bhadra*, *karṇa*, and *salilāntara* respectively, on all the faces. The *bhadra* and *karṇa* parts are projected equally, while the *salilāntara* part is recessed. The wall portion of the *bhadra* and *karṇa* parts are plain and are decked with pilasters, comprising a short compressed *tāṭi*, *phalaka* and a tall *pōtika* respectively. The *koshṭa pañjaras* employed in the *salilāntara* part are close to each other, with elaborate capitals. The *kapōta* is big and above this, the *prastara* part is fashioned into dentil mouldings in parts, conforming to *uttara* and

vājana The *kapōta* moulding is decorated with broad *nāsikas*, with human heads in their sockets. The western and northern faces are similar in architectural aspects.

The *adhishṭāna* as usual follows the pattern of the early Karnataka style and consists of *upāna*, *jagati*, *aṅtarīta*, *tripattakumuda*, *kaṇṭha* and *prati* (pl. No.2). The *kaṇṭha* part has the *galapādas*. This *adhishṭāna* shows similarities with the plinth part of the Vaidumba temple at Kalukada⁶. The small portion of the *kaṇṭha* moulding, as against the Chālukyan examples in the Karnataka region, is noteworthy. It is also interesting to note that we do not find variations in the *kumuda*, as at Bicavolu and Bhavanasi Sangam, which are dated to 8th and 9th centuries. This leads us to fix the date of this temple to the earlier part of the 8th century.

The square *dvitāla vimāna* with an *urpita hāra* at the base, shows *kūṭa*, *sāla* and *pañjara* elements with *makara* ends. The same can be seen in the Tārakabrahma temple at Alampur⁷. The *mukhamāṇḍapa* and *antarāla* do not possess the *hāra* element. The *āditala* follows the lower structure below. It has *Bhadraśāla* and *Karṇakūṭas*. The *pañjaras* are shown in the recessed parts. The *kūṭas* are decorated with *latavaktra* at its corners. The *mahānāsikas*, especially on the *bhadra* part, are carved with *kīrtimukha* and *makaras* below, as crowning members. On the eastern face, the *mahānāsikas* have Śiva and Brahma in the *pañjaras*. The *Bhadra nāsika* at present does not possess any. The *Salilāntara* portion is taller in proportion and the *ardharika* is patterned in similar manner as the *pāda* below. Over the *kapōta*, the *hāra*, composed of *kūṭa*, *Paṇḍita* and *sāla* is shown. The tall *vēdi* is carved with a highly projected *vidhāna phalaka*. A tall *griha* supports the square *śikhara*. The *śikhara* of each face has broad and wide *mahanāsikas* having *makaras* followed by *kīrtimukha*. The *stūpi* over the *śikhara* is missing and the absence of *śukanāsi* over the *antarāla* portion is noteworthy.

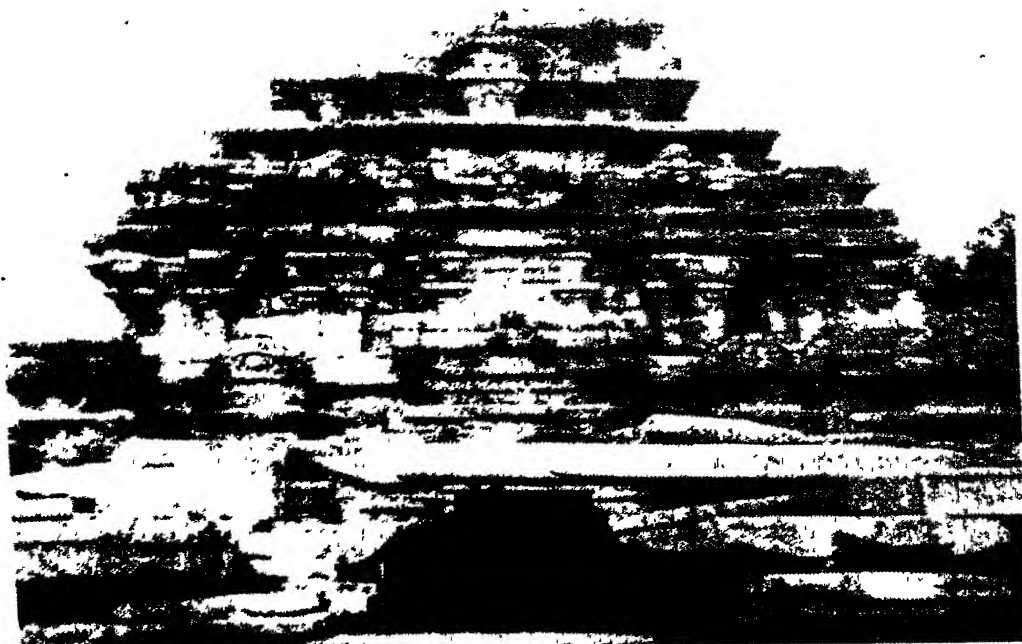
In the interior, the roof of the *mukhamāṇḍapa* is completely ruined. The *mukhamāṇḍapa* has two rows of three pillars on each side. Corresponding to the rows of pillars, are seen the pilasters in the walls. All the pillars are of *chitrakhaṇḍa* variety, comprising of a square base,

octagonal shaft, followed by a cubical portion and the capital supported by a short *lasuna*. It is composed of *tāṭi* and *phalaka* and followed by *pōtika*. The *antarāḷa* is rectangular on plan with four pilasters of *chitrakhaṇḍa* variety. At the entrance of the *antarāḷa*, the pilasters have *tāṭi*, *ghaṭa* and *phalaka*, topped by *pōtikas*. The *garbhagriha*, square on plan measures 11'4" X 11'4". The doorway of the *garbhagriha* has two *śākhas* decorated by *patra* and *stambha*. At the base of these *śākhas* is a *pūrṇaghata* carved with rich foliage. The *pūrṇaghata* is surrounded by lotus medallions on each side. Gajalakshmi is carved over the *lalāṭa*. The over-door has a *kapōta* moulding and has dentil mouldings below. It is interesting to see the occurrence of *taraṅga pōtika* pillars in the *garbhagriha*. The ceiling is carved with a lotus medallion.

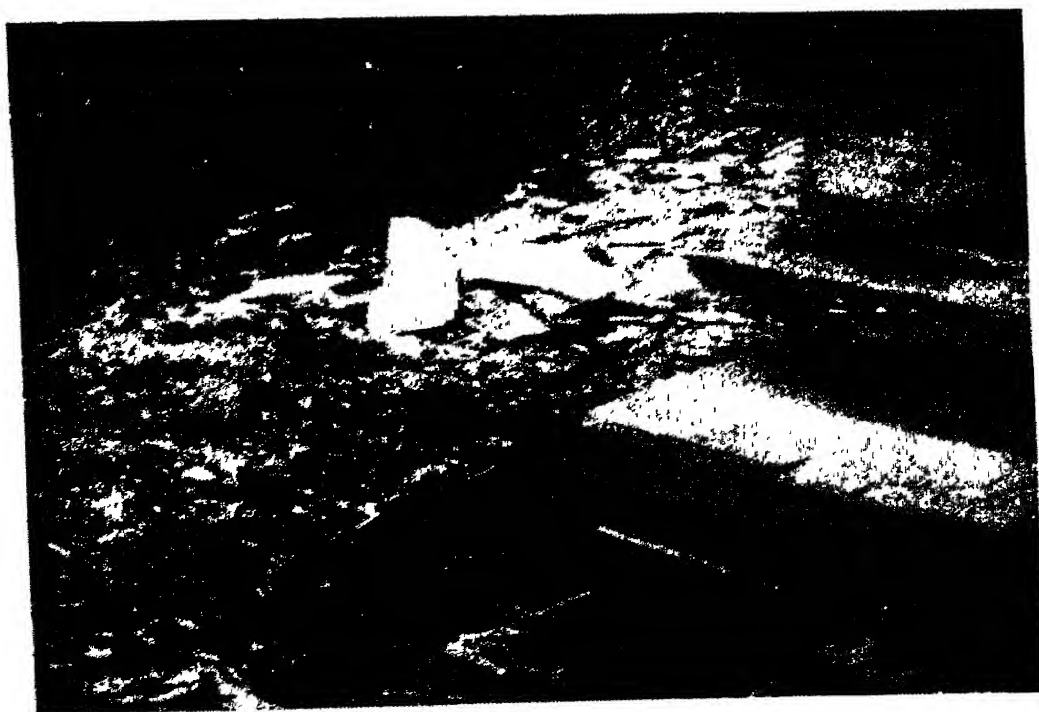
In addition to this temple, there is a small Śiva shrine, situated across the channel on the western side of the Bobbaranāyaka *guḍi*. On plan, it has a *mukhamāṇḍapa* and *garbhagriha*. The *adīṣṭāṇa* comprises of an *upāna*, *jagati*, *tripattukurnucka*, *antariṭa* and *pattika*. The *pāda* is plain on all faces, topped by *kapōta*. The doorway of the *garbhagriha* is of *dvīśākha* variety, with *lata* and *patra*, without much decoration. Gajalakshmi is carved on the *lalāṭa*. The *śikhara* is of *sāla* type.

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Pl. 1. Jalpeswara Temple - Front view - Ayyangaripalem, Guntur Dist.



Pl. 2. Adhishtana - Jalpeswara Temple - Ayyangaripalem, Guntur Dist.

PALLĪŚWARA MUDAIYA MĀDĒVA TEMPLE-KALUKADA

—Dr. K.Krishna Murthy.

This temple is located in Chittoor District on the road between Rayachoti and Chittoor. In recent times, this temple is locally known as Kumāraswāmy temple. Although the principal deity is missing; from the available inscriptional data, the deity of this temple is known as Pallīśwara Mudaiya Mahādēva.

Temple Components

The temple is a compact unit, comprising *garbhagriha*, *ardhamandapa* and *mahāmāṇḍapa*, built continuously in a unified pattern, over which rises a *sama chaturasra tritāla vimāna*, betraying indubitably, the Vaidumba structural idiom. The *adhīsthāna* mouldings show an *upāna*, a high *jāgati*, a *tripattā kumuda*, *kañtha* and a heavy *pattika* and *prati*, over which the wall rises.

The wall on the *garbhagriha* side is divided into the *kūṭas*, *sālas*, *pañjaras*, *kalaśas*, etc. On the corbels then rise the *uttara* and *vajana*, followed by a *valabhi*. The first *tala*, which is having the carvings of *hara* and *hārāntara* are of fine work. The *pada* of the significant *tala* is almost covered upto the level of *Kalaśas* of the pilasters.

The main *vimāna*, with an *ardhamāṇḍapa* in its front, is succeeded by *mahāmāṇḍapa* which is divided on the wall space into three sections, with a *gavāksha* (window) on either side of the wall and having the same scheme right upto its *kapōta*. The temple is facing west.

On the northern side, at the level of the *pattika* and in the central portion of the wall, is provided a *pranāli*. The entrance appears to have been provided originally with a flight of steps as the mouldings are abruptly ending at either side of the doorway at all levels. The entrance door-way is set with a slab and the lintel comprises a carved *lalāṭabimba* in the centre with

Gajalakshmi followed by two attendants (female). Immediately flanking her are males and females, apparently musicians, playing upon various instruments like drums, etc., almost covering the rest of the lintel slab. At the lower part of the jamb are the figures of *dvārapālas* who are four armed – inner arms rested on mace, and upper arms showing *vismaya hasta*, legs in *padasvastika* pose while at the inner end are the figures of *Gaṅga* on the north and *Yamuna* on the south. The figures of *Gajalakshmi*, attendants *dvārapāla* and *Gaṅga* and *Yamuna* stylistically betray the Āndhra-Chālukyan tradition and southern Pallava tradition.

The door frame of the *cells* is a simple scheme of jambs and lintel and a sill. The interior of the *cells*, a plain square, with a socket, hollow in the centre of the floor, is covered over by earth and dust, and could not be seen in its original details clearly. The *ardhamandapa* has a pair of facade pillars, bearing heavy lintel as in the Chālukyan or Deccan style. This is near to the late Pallava or Early Chōla model and the *mandapa* has four free standing pillars in the centre

Epigraphical Evidence

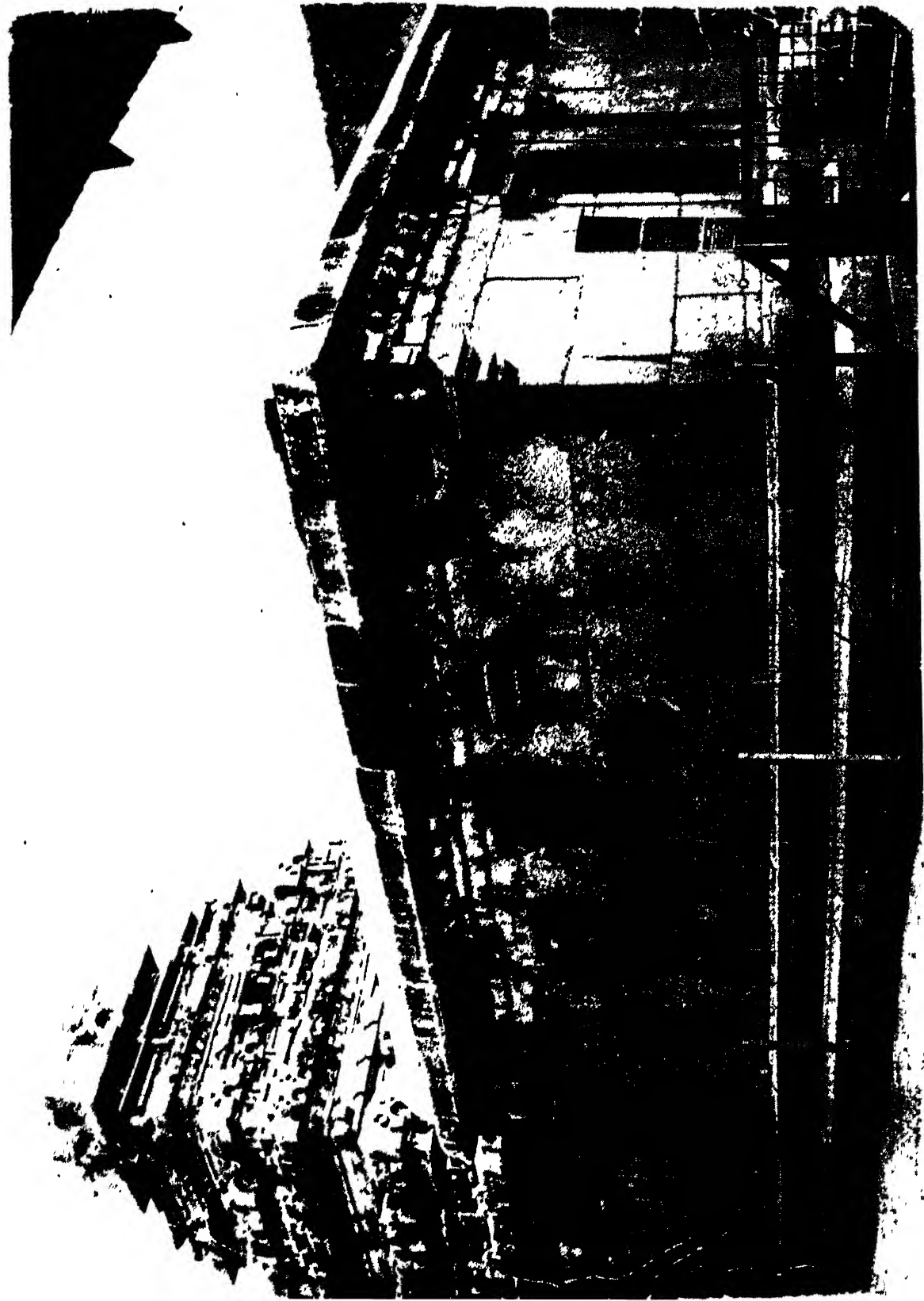
The outer wall adjoining the entrance of the *mahāmāṇḍapa*, comprising three carved slabs on either side, is almost covered up from top to bottom, with inscriptions in bold characters of Telugu-Kannada script, datable to not later than 10th century A.D. They depict three different inscriptions. These are Vaidumba inscriptions datable to Circa 972 A.D. The size of each letter is about 2 to 2 1/2" and is written in a bold and far from cursive standard form. The inscriptions have already been copied and published in *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol.XXX, Part - 7, No.43 ; including the Tamil record on the plinth moulding of the temple. One of the three Vaidumba inscriptions, recovered from the vicinity, records that the deity in the temple is *Paṭṭiśwara Mudaiya Mādēva* of Karkadal. Karkadal is identical with modern Kalkada. The inscription records a gift of Murukkettam, Kudiyettam and Tirukkalahieri as *Dēvadāna* to the God *Paṭṭiśwara Mudaiya Mādēva* at Karkadal (Kalkada) by Vaidumba Marayan Tidalisan in the

49th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa Dēva (Kulōttuṅga-I). It is known from the inscriptions that Vaidumba chiefs ruled over this area. The three records, discovered at Kalkada, inform that Vaidumbas ruled over Kalkada, at a stretch, for over two centuries and a quarter. However, they do not furnish a connected account of the members of this family viz., Gaṇḍa Trinētra, Bhuvana Trinētra and the Vaidumba king Tidalisan, mentioned in the inscription, figures as a vassal to Kulōttuṅga-I.

The super-structures should therefore be classed as a land-mark in the structural architecture of the southern region of the Vaidumba zone which may be classed in the same group as those of the Kodumbalur etc., on the one side and Kambada Halli on the other and is one of the few of all stone structural temples of the early period known to us. It is thus, probably datable to the very end of 9th century A.D.

Sculptural Wealth

The sculptural wealth of this temple is of no less magnitude as compared to its architectural style. The lithographic delineation of the figures betrays the sculptural grandeur of the Vaidumba period. A Naṇḍi installed in front of the main shrine is one among them with fine workmanship.



Palliswara Mudaiya Mādeva Temple - Kalukada(v), Chittoor District

LAKSHMĪ NARASIMHADĒVA TEMPLE – KADIRI

—S. Sripathi Naidu

Kadiri is the headquarters of a taluk in Anantapur district. The town is 58 miles from Anantapur and can be reached by bus. Lakshminarasimhadēva temple is situated in the middle of the town and the *gōpuras* on the four sides of the temple attract the visitors from a distance.¹ The (Vishṇu) temple exhibits the excellence of the art of the Vijayanagar rulers. Curiously enough, the temple contains some paintings also. The town is named after a tree called *Khadira* (Acacia Catchedu), where, the icon of the deity, is said to be originally found² Since a shrine was erected in a place where the tree is regarded as the abode of the deity, it is called '*Sthala Vrikssa*'³.

From the inscriptions, it is clear that Kadiri was controlled by the Nāyakas, the local chieftains of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar⁴. One inscription dated 1353 A.D., states that during the reign of the Vijayanagara king, Bukkana Voḍayar, the temple of Avubhaladēva at Kadiri was built by a Nāyaka⁵. An officer of Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa, named Gōpaṇa, made a gift of an ornament to the temple of Kadiri⁶. This inscription (523 of 1906) contains a Sanskrit verse with double meanings (*sīśha*) composed by the Pradhāni Sōvappagalu⁷. Another inscription (525 of 1906) belonging to Krishṇarāya's period, dated 1530 A.D., records the gift of land to the temple by a relative of Krishṇarāya⁸. From the above available epigraphical evidences, the temple can be assigned to the early Vijayanagar period. The stylistic features of the temple also support the above opinion.

Description

The temple faces east. There are four entrances, one in each cardinal direction, surmounted by *gōpuras*. The eastern *gōpura* or the main entrance (*gōpura*) is attractive. The *adhistāna*, a part of which is buried, contains *gala* cut into compartments by pilasters, *paṭṭa*,

another *paṭṭa*, *padma*, broad *gaḷa*, *tripaṭṭa*, another *gaḷa* and *ālīṅga paṭṭika*. The *kudya* is decorated with three pilasters, *sāla kōṣṭha* and three pilasters. The *gōpura* has four *talas*, each containing a row of *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *sāla*, *pañjara* and *kūṭa* series. The oblong *śikhara* is surmounted by a row of *kalāśas*.

The main shrine is situated in the centre of the courtyard, facing east. It consists of *garbhagṛiha* and *antarāla*, surrounded by a *pradakṣhiṇa patha*, *mukhamāṇḍapa*, connecting *maṇṭapa* and *mahāmaṇṭapa*. *Garuḍa* is housed in a small shrine in the *mahāmaṇṭapa* facing the main deity. The *dhvajasthambha* and the *ballipīṭha* are found behind the *Garuḍa* shrine. The main shrine measures 155 feet long. The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *garbhagṛiha* measures four feet in height and contains *upāna*, *padma*, broad *paṭṭa*, *tripaṭṭa*, *gaḷa* and *ālīṅga paṭṭika*. The exterior of the wall is decorated with pilasters, having *chōḷa* capitals and *sāla kōṣṭhas*. The *ēkatala vimāna* rising over the *garbhagṛiha* contains the series *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *sālapañjara* and *kūṭa*. The *phalaka* above this *tala*, contains a seated lion, in each of the four corners. Above this is another *phalaka* containing the figures of *Garuḍa* in *añjali mudra* in each of the four corners. The four sided *śikhara* belongs to the *Nagara* order.

The *pradakṣhiṇapatha* around the *garbhagṛiha* and the *antarāla* contains a row of four pillars each in the east, south, west and north, with *chōḷa* capitals. On either side of the *antarāla* are found two *dvārapālakas*. Inside the *garbhagṛiha* is the main deity of seated *Narasimha* with *Prahlāda* standing before him. *Narasimha* here is found as *Prahlāda-anugrahamūrti*. Standing in *dvibhaṅga*, the god has two hands. The right hand is kept on the head of *Prahlāda*, who is standing to bottom right. The left hand is kept on *kaṭi*. The God has the face of a lion and has no *kirita*. He wears *grāvēyakas*, *chēnnavīru*, girdle and *purnōrukha*.

The *Garuḍa* shrine, situated in front of the *mahāmaṇṭapa*, is a square structure of 40' x 40' with plain walls and *Nagara śikhara*. It contains 28 pillars with *Vyāli* bracket, pillar with one projecting pilaret, pillar with two projecting pilarets and pillar with three projecting pilarets. The

pillars have Vijayanagara capitals. The ceiling of the *mahāmaṇṭapa* contains some paintings. The *mukhamanṭapa* and the *mahāmaṇṭapa* are connected by another *maṇṭapa*. Four pillars with *chōḷa* capitals are supporting this *maṇṭapa*. The *mukhamanṭapa* has three entrances in the east, south and north. On the southern side is found a porch. The Dēvi shrine is connected to this *mukhamanṭapa*. Metal icons of Viṣṇu, Kālīyamardana and Lakshminārāyaṇa are kept in a small room. Four pillars with *chōḷa* capitals support this *mukhamanṭapa*.

The *Kalyāṇamanṭapa* situated in the south-west corner of the main shrine, faces east. The *maṇṭapa* has been divided into two parts, the front part in lower level contains a row of six pillars with *chōḷa* capitals and the hind part at a higher level contains two rows of six pillars each guarded by elephants. At the extreme left is a pavilion, with a *vimāna* of *vessara* order. To the south-west of the temple is the *uñjal maṇṭapa* or swinging pavilion, with four tall Vijayanagara pillars.

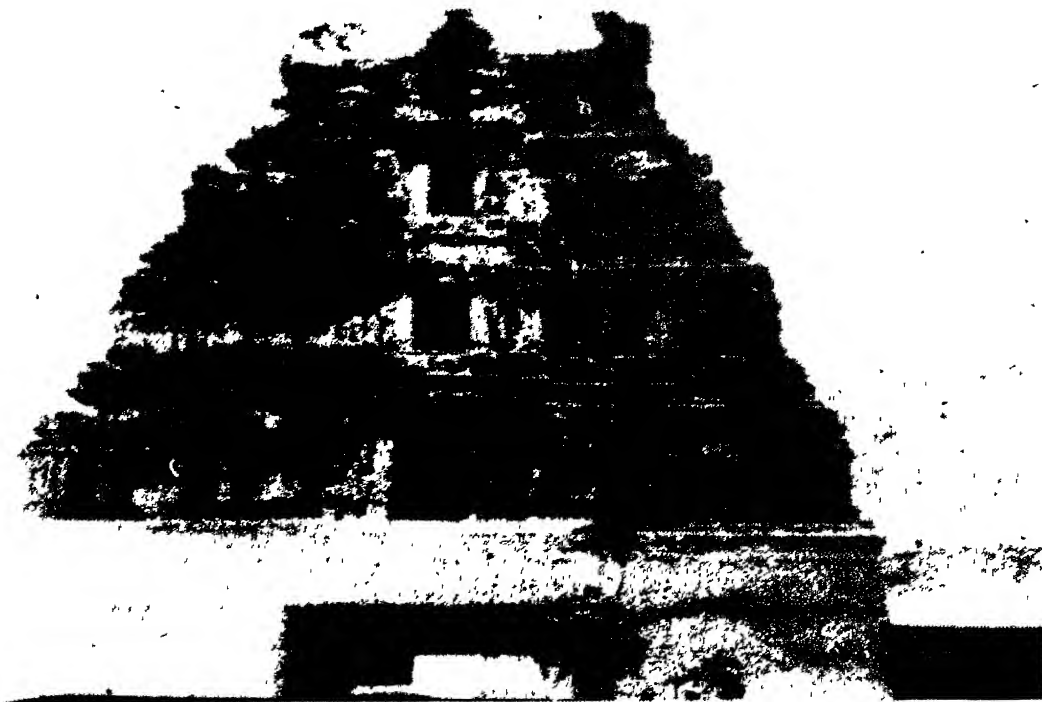
There are a number of sub-shrines with-in the temple compound which is surrounded on three sides by pillared *maṇṭapas*. In the north-east corner of the courtyard is a small shrine. It has a *garbhagriha*, *aṇṭarāḷa* and a verandah. The *vimāna* above the *garbhagriha* has a *tala* with a row of the series- *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *sāla-pañjara* and *kūṭa*. In each of the four corners is a lion. The *śikhara* is round and belongs to the *Vessara* order. To the north of the *garbhagriha* of the main shrine, is a *maṇṭapa*, supported by four pillars with a *vimāna* above. Two pillars have pillarets projecting. The other two have the figure of a woman on a block projecting from the shaft. The *vimāna* has one *tala* with the usual series *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *sāla*, *pañjara* and *kūṭa* and *Nagara śikhara*.

The Dēvi shrine is situated to the north of the main shrine, facing east. It has a *garbhagriha*, *aṇṭarāḷa*, *mukhamanṭapa* and *mahāmaṇṭapa*. The *adhīṣṭāna* contains - *upāna*, broad *paṭṭa*, *tripaṭṭa*, *gaḷa* cut into compartments and *ālīṅgapaṭṭika*. The exterior wall is decorated with two pilasters, *sālakōṣṭha* and two pilasters. The pilasters contain *chōḷa* capitals. The *ēkatala*

vimāna above the *garbhagriha* contains a row of the series - *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *sāla pañjara* and *kūṭa*. There is a *phalaka* above the *tala* with a lion in each of the four corners. The *nagara śikhara* is four sided. The *Dēvi* is in *samabhaṅga* posture. She has four hands. She holds *chakra* in upper right hand and *śaṅkha* in upper left hand, while the lower right hand is in *abhaya* and the lower left in *varada mudras*. She wears *kiritamakuta*, *chakrakūṇḍalas*, *gaṇḍavēyakas*, *kuchabaṇḍha*, girdle and *purnōrukha*.

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- 4 *Inscriptions of Andhra Desa*, Vol. II, part. I, 1968, Dr. M. Rama Rao, p.37
- 5 *MER* - 522 of 1906
- 6 *MER* - 523 of 1906.
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- 8 *History of South India*, K.A.N. Sastry, 1955, pp.462-463.



South Gopura Lakshminarasimhadēva Temple - Kadiri, Anantapur Dist.



Ālaya Vimāna - Lakshminarasimhadēva Temple - Kadiri, Anantapur Dist.

THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OR THE VIMĀNA OF THE VIJAYANAGARA TEMPLES

—Dr.C. Poornachand

The Vijayanagara period witnessed unsurpassing building activity in the annals of South India. Krishṇadēvarāya, Achyutadēvarāya and many other powerful Nāyakas took uncommon interest in constructing temples. The Vijayanagara temples represent the last great phase of Dravidian style of architecture. They are lofty and sumptuous in consumption and character. An attempt is made in the following pages to study the various types of superstructures or *Vimānas* that are found on the top of the *garbhagriha* of the Vijayanagara temples.

The superstructure or the *vimāna* is that portion which is found on the top of the *prāsāda* walls of the *garbhagriha*. This is one of the most distinctive features of a temple. The superstructure or the *vimāna*, apart from the *gōpuradvāra*, not only arrests the very attention of the visitor from a distance, but also increases the loftiness of the edifice considerably. Further, it also provides ample space and scope for the sculptors to exhibit their skill, imagination and mastery over plastic art. The *vimānas* of the Vijayanagara temples, for the sake of convenience may broadly be divided into two types, viz. (1) the stepped pyramidal and (2) the storeyed pyramidal.

1. STEPPED PYRAMIDAL TYPE

This type of *vimāna* is comparatively rare in the Vijayanagara temples. However, some important examples of this type of superstructure are found on a *trikūṭālaya* built on a hillock near the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi (pl.1) and a small group of minor shrines situated to the south of the Chennakēśava group of temples at Pushpagiri (pl.2). A careful study of the stepped pyramidal superstructures of the above referred temples will enable us to classify them into three types.

Type I

This type of stepped pyramidal *vimāna* is noticed on the top of the *garbhagriha* of the minor shrines at Pushpagiri. It is square on plan and has *phamsānas* or tiers of diminishing size. Here the tiers and recesses are arranged alternately. Each *vimana* has three tiers. It is observed that the *phamsānas* have quadrantal edges but not *cyma-recta* terminations. The tiers are plain and devoid of any ornamental motifs. The recesses in between the tiers are bold and considerably wide. The *vēdi* or the platform which is placed on the summit of the pyramidal tiers is square in shape. It is succeeded by a prominent *grīva*, which in its turn is succeeded by a *chaturasraśikhara*. On the four sides of this member are shown square blocks of stone in high relief. The crowning section of this *śikhara* has a couple of tiers of diminishing size. In all these *vimānas* the finials are missing (pl.2)

Type II

A classic example of this type is noticed in the *trikūṭālaya* constructed on a small hillock near the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi (pl.1). This superstructure, like the above referred one, is square on plan and has tiers, diminishing in size as they proceed upwards. Every *vimāna* consists of eight stepped tiers, *vēdi*, *grīva* and *chaturasra-śikhara*. The tiers are decorated with a series of semi-circular projections and with *kapōta-pālīka* or *cyma recta* terminations or ends. The recesses in between the tiers are very deep and narrow. This arrangement of deep and narrow recesses alternately in between the tiers paved the way for the rich interplay of light and shade in different seasons. Further, if it is viewed from a distance, the entire superstructure does not present a solid pyramidal mass but a pleasing and charming view of stepped pyramidal tiers and recesses. The *vēdi* or the platform which is placed on the summit of the pyramidal tiers, is very broad, a thin and square slab of stone. The inner edges of this platform are decorated with semi-circular and triangular projections. The *vēdi* is succeeded by a narrow *grīva* and a crowning *chaturasra-śikhara* respectively. The corners and the facing sides

of the last member are adorned with *cyma-recta* terminations and plain square blocks of stone. The most interesting and the significant feature of this type of *vimānas* is that of the central band which runs across vertically on the central section of the pyramidal tiers. It starts from the lowest tier and terminates just below the *vēdi*. This central band or the *rāha-pāga* is also of a diminishing type and composed of a series of exquisitely carved *chartya* niches or *kuḍus*. These niches or *kuḍus* have the *kīrtimukha* motifs on the summit and meticulously carved images of seated gods and goddesses in the central sunken circular sections. The Vijayanagara architects, in erecting these stepped pyramidal *vimānas*, admirably maintained a judicious balance between the horizontal and vertical patterns. The central *rāha-pāga* stands for verticality where as the *phamsānas* or tiers stand for horizontality.

Type III

Examples of this type of stepped pyramidal superstructure are noticed in two small shrines constructed on a rocky surface near the village Munulapāka (pl.3). These *vimānas*, though classified under the stepped pyramidal variety, sharply differ from the above referred ones. In the first place, these *vimānas* are built of bricks and *chunam*, whereas the above referred ones are built in stone. The size, shape and the very disposition of the tiers are not in accordance with the same noticed in Type I and II. The lowest tier is in the shape of a prominent *tripaṭṭa* serving the purpose of a *kapōta*. The lower section of it is decorated with ribbed patterns, arranged vertically. The recesses in between the tiers are neither deep nor narrow. In cases, rectangular blocks are introduced in the recesses. The most interesting part of this *vimāna* is the *chaturasra-śikhara*. It is in two sections. The lower section is wider than the upper one and it is exactly a replica of the lowest tier of the *vimāna* which is in the form of a *tri-paṭṭa*. Couchant *Vyālas* are arranged on the four corners of the *vēdi* and most of them are in a very bad state of preservation. Besides, four *Vyāla* figures standing on their hind legs are arranged on the four facing sides of the *chaturasra-śikhara*. The crowning member of this

type is generally found on the storeyed pyramidal *vimānas* but not on the stepped pyramidal superstructures. It appears that ingenuous imagination and the innate curiosity to adopt new art patterns of the Vijayanagara architects might have resulted in the production of these curious and highly interesting stepped pyramidal *vimānas*. But it should be noted (for reasons not known) that, this type of *vimāna* did not receive its due share of recognition at the hands of the Vijayanagara architects and hence it is seldom found in other temples.

It may not be out of place here to state that the beginnings of the stepped pyramidal superstructure can be traced back to the early Chālukyan temples at Aihole. The small temple located near the Huchchimalli-*gudī* and some temples in the Galagnātha and the Mallikārjuna group of temples have stepped pyramidal *vimānas*¹. The *phamsānas* of the stepped pyramidal *vimāna* of a temple in the Galagnātha group of temples have semi-circular projections. This appears to be the earliest use of the semi-circular projections for the decoration of the tiers of the stepped pyramidal *vimāna*. The stepped pyramidal *vimānas* that are found in the Veniyavār and Triumbakēśvara group of temples are also decorated with semi-circular projections². The early Chālukyan temples at *Pāpavināsini-tīrtha* near Alampur and Mahanandi also have stepped pyramidal *vimānas*³. The later Chālukyan architects also favoured this type of *vimānas*. This is very well attested by the stepped pyramidal *vimānas*, that are found on the top of the *garbhagrihas* of the Lakshmidēvi temple at Dodḍagaddavalli⁴. The Kakatiyas of Warangal who succeeded the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa inherited much of the architectural traditions introduced by the latter. The stepped pyramidal superstructure is one of them. The Kākatiya examples of this type are found at Palampet, Warangal, Nagunur, Ramakrishnapuram, etc.⁵. But a very interesting example of a stepped pyramidal *vimāna* is found on a small shrine located nearly a furlong away from the main temple at Palampet. The *vimāna* is composed of, as usual, a series of diminishing tiers crowned by a *chaturasra-śikhara*. But the most interesting feature of this *vimāna* is that there is a broad plain central band running vertically, starting

from the second tier and extending up to the *grīva*. This feature, in a more refined and developed way, is noticed in Type II of the stepped *vimāna* which is under our consideration. In the present one (Vijayanagara example) the central *rāha-pāga* is composed of a series of *Chaitya* arches. Further, in general plan, design and in the arrangement of the *phamsānas* of these *vimānas*, there is a very close resemblance between each other. It is likely that the Vijayanagara architects might have got inspiration and guidance from the Kākatiya counter-parts, while modelling the stepped pyramidal *vimāna* of Type II found on the *trikūṭālaya* at Hampi. It is also possible that the descendants of the Kākatiya architects, after the fall of the Kākatiya empire, might have migrated to the Karnataka region, got the patronage of the early Vijayanagara emperors and introduced the modified versions of the Kākatiya stepped pyramidal *vimānas* in the temples raised by them. Further, a close study of the pillars found in the Vijayanagara temples which have the above referred stepped pyramidal *vimānas* betray Kākatiya influence in general shape, design and ornamentation. It should also be stated here that Harihara I and Bukka I, the founders of the Vijayanagara empire, were originally in the service of Pratāparudradēva – the last great member of the Kākatiya dynasty.

2. STOREYED PYRAMIDAL TYPE

A *vimāna* of this type is generally composed of a storeyed arrangement of horizontal architectural motifs. Here the tiers and recesses are conspicuous by their absence. The Vijayanagara architects profusely patronised this type of *vimāna*. This type of *vimāna* is generally styled as Dravidian *vimāna*.

The storeyed pyramidal *vimānas* representing the early Vijayanagara phase are found on the temples constructed on a slopy rock near the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi (pl 4). The *vimānas* of these temples are of *dvi-tala* type, but stone and brick are used in their construction. In these cases, the storeys are decorated with a series of *chaitya* arch motifs with *śiṃhalaṭā* gables and standing on slender pilasters. The *vēdi* or the platform which supports

the crowning member is square in shape, but its edges are decorated with graduated projections. The crowning *chaturasra-śikhara* has two sections. The lower section is square, but the four cardinal sides have *cyma-recta* terminations with triangular projections at the end. The upper section also has a couple of horizontal bands. Plain square projections are noticed on the four facing central sides. Another variety of this superstructure is found on a temple located very near to the above referred temple. This *vimāna* has a very interesting crowning member. In this case, the four central sides of the *chaturasra-śikhara* are adorned with *grīva-kōshthas*. It has two ornamental *stāmbhikas* on either side and crowned by a boldly designed *tōraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at the apex. The outer periphery of this *tōraṇa* is decorated with a series of semi-circular projections. Further, the *grīva* of this *vimāna* is considerably bolder than the former. This *vimāna*, constructed with bricks and *chunam*, definitely marks further development in the evolution of the storeyed pyramidal *vimānas* of the Vijayanagara temples.

The next stage in the evolution of the storeyed pyramidal *vimānas* of the Vijayanagara period is noticed in the temples at Chandragiri (pl.5). In these *vimānas*, considerable development is noticed in the nature and disposition of the storeyed horizontal architectural and artistic members. The corners and the central portion of the *tala* are occupied by the *Karṇākūṭa-kōshthas* and *bhadra-śāla-kōshthas*. These two architectural members have a cluster of *stāmbhikas* at the base and supporting the superstructure placed above. In between these *bhadra-śāla* and *karṇa-kūṭa-kōshthas* are inserted *nētra-kōshthas*. The facing sides of these *kōshthas* are adorned with *chaitya* motifs having a *kīrtimukha* at the summit and a circular cavity below. It is due to the introduction of these *kōshthas* of different types, the height of the storey is increased, which, in its turn enhanced the elevation and grandeur of the *vimāna* itself. In these *vimānas*, the *vēdi* is in the form of a very broad band decorated with a row of *siṃhalaṭā kuḍus*. The under side of the *vēdi* has ribbed patterns. Seated animal figures

(Nāndis or Vyālas) are arranged on the four corners of the platform. The grīva of this vimāna is circular in shape and has grīva-kōshthas. The crowning member of these vimānas is not the usual chaturasra-śikhara, but it is in the form of a vṛtta-śikhara. The outer surface of this vṛtta-śikhara has deeply incised curved linear patterns. The central facing sides of this member are adorned with śikhara-kōshthas having a huge kīrtimukha motif on the summit. Inside the circular cavity of these śikhara-kōshthas are shown miniature ēka-tala Dravidian spires. The most interesting feature of these storeyed vimānas is that though they are square on plan, the crowning member and the grīva are circular in shape. It appears that the Vijayanagara artists tried to bring a harmonious synthesis between the squarish and circular members in these vimānas.

In the final stage of the evolution of the storeyed pyramidal vimāna, the number of storeys have been increased and the space in between the storeys is reduced. Every storey, as usual, is adorned with karna, bhadra, nētra and kshudra kōshthas. Further the vimāna-dēvatas are arranged inside and outside the kōshthas. Seated gods and goddesses are also found on the grīva section of the vimāna, Chaturasra and vṛtta śikharas with simhalaṭā kuḍu motifs on the central facing sides and padma-patra mouldings on the summit are also noticed in the vimānas of the advanced type.

The storeyed pyramidal vimānas that are found in the Vīrabhadrasvāmi temple complex at Lepākshi represent an advanced type. They are built of bricks and chunam. Every storey is composed of karna-kōshthas, nētra-kōshthas and bhadra kōshthas. The space in between the storeys is so narrow and as a result the entire vimāna, viewed from a distance, looks a solid mass. The vēdi which is placed on the top of the storeys is square in shape but pleasingly modelled. It is very interesting to note that dwarfish gaṇas as bhāra-vāhikas are sculptured in the lower section of the vēdi. Two types of crowning members are noticed on the vimānas of the Lepākshi temple complex. The crowning member of the vimāna of the Raghunāthālāya (pl 6)

is *chaturasra śikhara*, having boldly designed *kuḍu* motifs on all the sides. The *vimānas* of the main temple and the Parvati shrine are surmounted by *ṛitta-śikharas*. It is observed that these *vimānas* are of moderate proportions but very pleasingly designed and ornamented. The *vimānas* of this type, with minor variations are noticed at Hampi, (pls.7,9) Pushpagiri, (pls.8,10) Sōmpālem, etc

It may be stated that the storeyed pyramidal *vimānas* of the *Dēvi* shrines in the Viṭṭhala, Achyutarāya, and Hazara Rāma temples at Hampi, (pls.7,9&11) the Kalyāṇa Vēṅkatēśvara temple at Narayaṇavanam and the Rāmalingēśvara temple at Tadiparti, deserve special mention in this connection. They are of *dvi-tala* type. The lower storey, which is bigger than the second is, as usual, adorned with *karṇa-kūṭa-kōshṭhas*, *bhadra-śāla-kōshṭhas*, *nētra kōshṭhas* and *kshudra-kōshṭhas*. The most interesting feature of these *vimānas* is the crowning member viz., *śāla-śikhara*. The sides of these *śikharas* are decorated with huge *chaitya* arches with *simhalaṭā* gables. Inside these *chaitya* arches are shown miniature *dvi tala vimanas* canopied by a *śāla-śikhara*, standing on a cluster of *stāmbhikas*. This type of *śāla śikharas* are normally found on the top of the *gōpura-dvāras*. The *gōpura-dvāras* are rectangular on plan, with vaulted roof on the top of the *gōpura*, look impressive and pleasing. But the *vimānas* of the *Dēvi* shrines, which are under study, are square on plan. Hence the *śāla śikhara*, as the crowning member of these *vimānas* looks clumsy and cumbrous. However, this type of *vimānas* are few in number. It is likely that the Vijayanagara architects, as an experiment, might have tried this type of storeyed pyramidal *vimānas*. They might have realised afterwards that the *vimānas* having square bases are not suitable to have *śāla śikhara* finials and hence discarded its further use.

No account of the *vimānas* of the Vijayanagara temples would be complete with out a reference to the *māhā-nāsikas*. The *māhā-nāsika* or the antefix generally represents the integral projection of the basal part of the *vimāna* forming the roof of the *anturāṭa*. It is one of the

most important units of the *vimāna* and has got architectural and artistic importance and significance. The primary purpose of this unit appears to be, to give added security and stability to the principal superstructure or *vimāna*, placed on the top of the *garbhagṛha* of the main temple. Besides, it will also distribute the weight of the main *vimāna* by extending it over the roof of the *antarāla* and there by maintains balance. Further, it gives not only added dignity to the main *vimāna* but also increases the loftiness of the whole edifice to a very great extent. It also provides additional space to the sculptors to use their peerless imagination and consummate skill in carving various art-motifs and figure sculptures.

V. Kameswara Rao observes : "The *sukanāsa* (antefix) which is found in the early and the Later Chālukyan temples and in the Hōyasala and the Kākatīya temples is not found in the Vijayanagara temples of Rayalaseema. A possible explanation for the absence of *sukanāsa* may be that it would not be conspicuous on account of the greater length in the axis of temples, secured by the addition of the long *maṇḍapas*"⁶. This statement may hold good as far as the Vijayanagara temples, distributed through out the length and breadth of Rāyalaseema region. But there are some Vijayanagara temples found at Hampi that have *mahā-nāsikas* in front of the main *vimāna* (pls. 1,4,9 & 12)

The *mahā nāsika* of the Vijayanagara temples may be divided in to two types. The first type is noticed in front of the stepped pyramidal *vimānas*. As the main *vimāna* is composed of tiers, the *mahā nāsika* also has tiered bands. These tiers are surmounted by a wagon vaulted roof. The front portion of the *mahā nāsika* is adorned with a *śimhalaṭā kuḍu* arch (pl 1). The second type of *mahā nāsika* is noticed in front of the storeyed pyramidal *vimānas*. This is surmounted, like the above referred one, by a vaulted or *Gajapṛishṭha* roof. But a careful examination of the various architectural and ornamental motifs that are found on these *mahā-nāsikas* reveals considerable difference. On the strength of this they may be classified into four types.

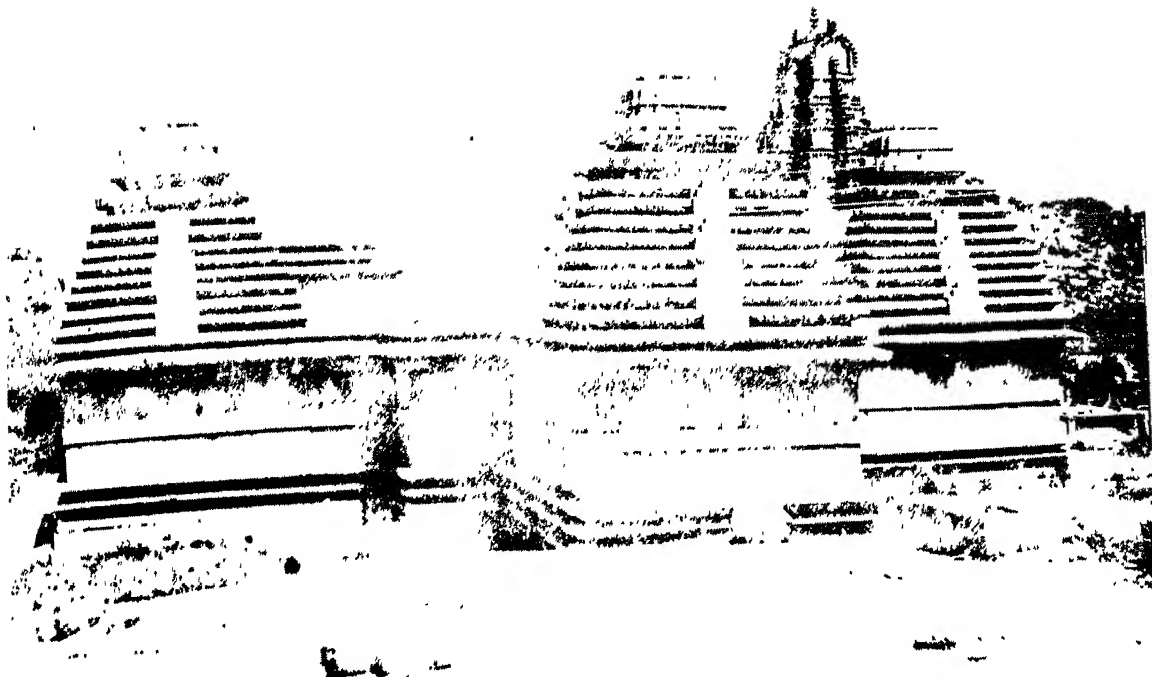
- (i) In this type the lower storey is adorned with a series of *chaitya* arches. It is followed by a wide *gaḷa* and a *kapōta*, having semi-circular projections. The front portion of this type of *mahā-nāsika* has three tiers of diminishing size and canopied by a small semi-circular arch (pl.4)
- (ii) In this type the sides and the top portion of the *mahā-nāsika* are decorated with plain horizontal bands. The facade or the front section is occupied by a huge *simhalaṭāṭa tōraṇa*, the outer periphery of which is decorated with a series of semi-circular elevations. There is a semi-circular and conical sunken cavity in the centre. (pl.5)
- (iii) This type of *mahā-nāsika* is found in front of the storeyed pyramidal *vimāna* of the Hazāra Rāma temple at Hampi (pl. 9). It is in two sections. The sides of the lower section are decorated with pilaster motifs. The upper portion is in the form of a vaulted roof. The *grīva* of the superstructure is adorned with horizontal *paṭṭikas* and in between them is a row of standing human figures. The front elevation of this *mahā-nāsika* has some interesting features. The lower part is occupied by a deep niche. It is surmounted by a gigantic *makara-tōraṇa* with a prominent *kirtimukha* at the summit. A miniature *dvi-tala gōpura-dvāra* which is very closely akin to the *vimāna* placed on the *garbhagṛha* of the adjacent Dēvi shrine, is noticed in the central section of the *makara-tōraṇa*.
- (iv) This type of *mahā-nāsika* is noticed on a temple located on the way to the Viṭṭhala temple and very near to the *Tulābhāra-tōraṇa* (pl 12). The sides of this *mahā-nāsika* have a prominent pilaster, arranged vertically, whereas the front portion is as usual adorned with a prominent *makara-tōraṇa* motif.

The *mahā-nāsika* or the antefix, appears to have been introduced for the first time by the early Chālukyan architects. The *mahā-nāsika* found in front of the *vimāna* of the Huchchimalli-guḍi is supposed to be one of the earliest representations of its kind, in the

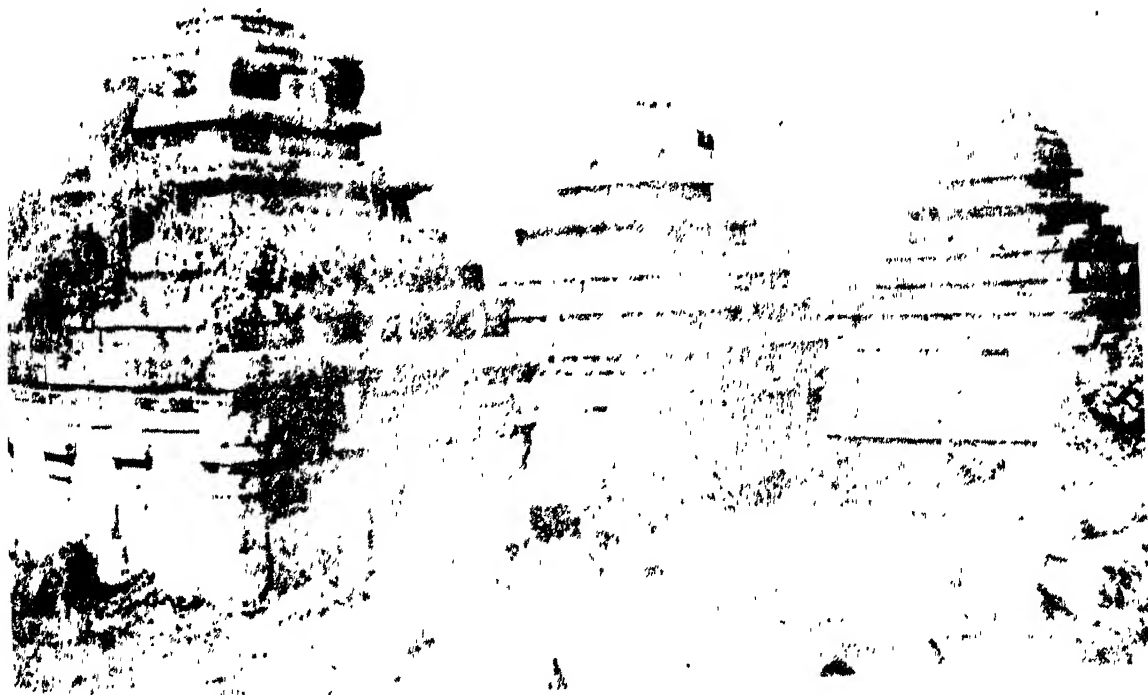
annals of the temple architecture of Deccan⁷ Further it is also noticed in the Tārabasappa temple, Huchchappayya *gudī*, the main temple of the Galagnātha group. Chikka-*gudī*, etc., at Aihole⁸ Its further continuation is noticed in the Pāpanātha and Virūpāksha temples at Pattadakka⁹. But the later Chālukyan and the Hōyasala sculptors literally converted the *mahā nāsika*, along with the main *vimāna*, as a veritable museum of sculpture. The best illustrations of this type are found in the temples at Kūruvatti, Karavāngala, Sōmnāthpūr, Ittagi, Dambal, Bēlūr, Halebīd, Doddagaddavalli etc¹⁰. The Kākatiya temples found in the Telangana region of Āndhra Pradesh also have the *mahā-nāsikas* in front of the *vimānas*¹¹. It should be noted here that the Pallavas, Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas did not favour this architectural and ornamental member and hence it is conspicuously absent in the temples constructed by them. It would thus appear that the Vijayanagara architects borrowed or inherited the tradition of constructing *mahā-nāsikas* in front of the main *vimanas* from the later Chālukyan or Hōyasāla art tradition.

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11. M. Rama Rao, *Select Kākatīya Temples*, Tirupati, 1966, Pls. XIII, Fig. 1, XXXV - Fig. 2, XXXVI - Fig. 1.



Pl.1. Trikūṭālaya on a hillock - Hampi



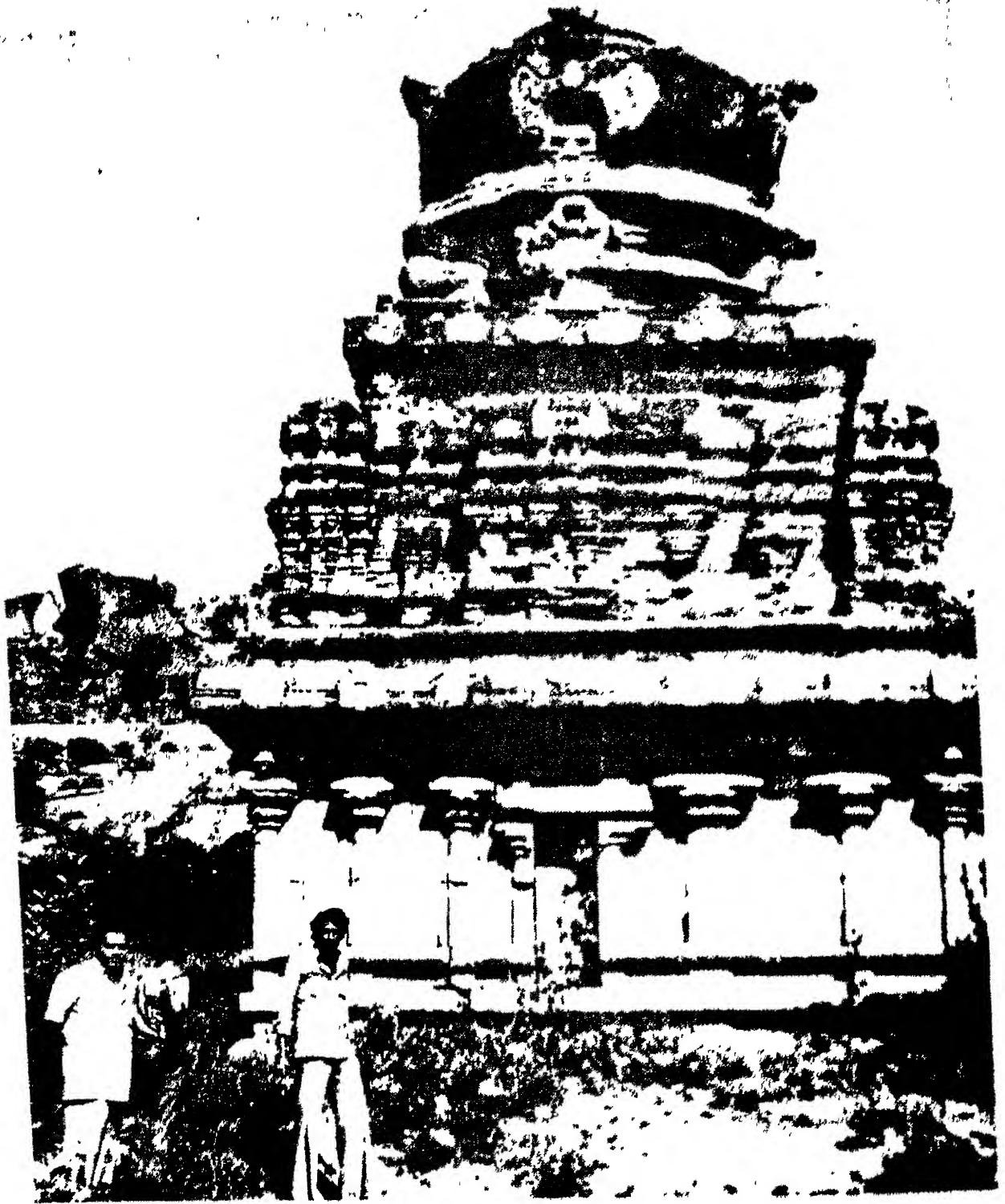
Pl.2. Monor shrines - Pushpagiri



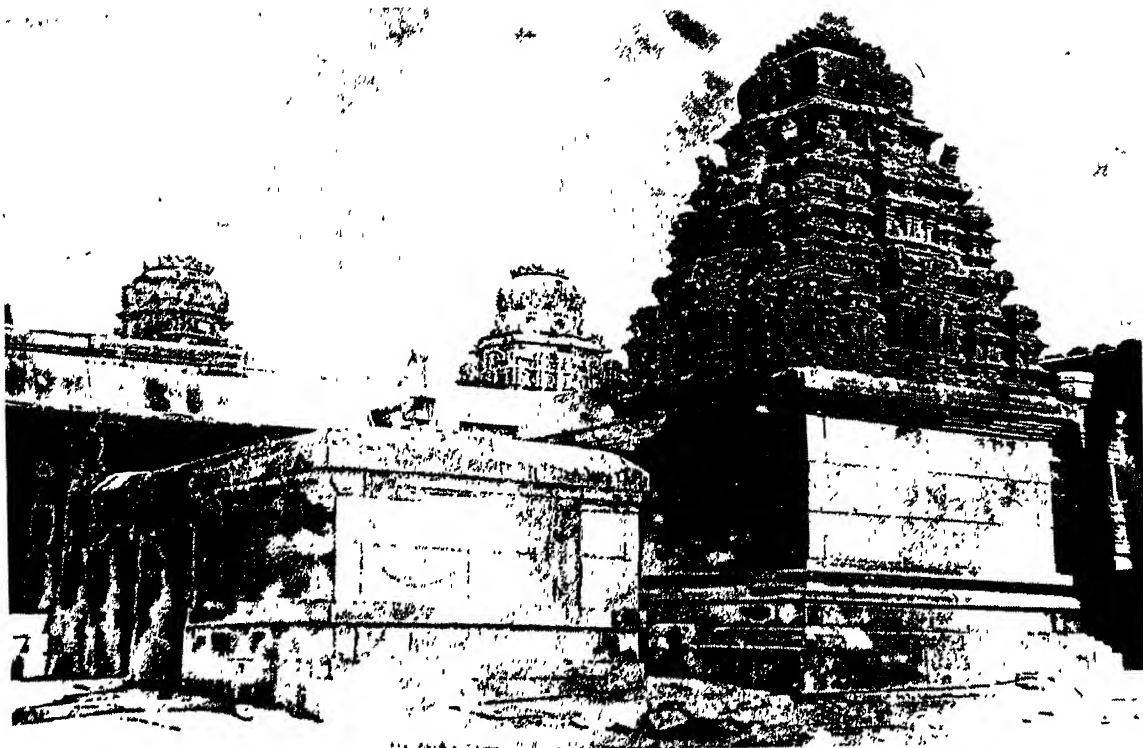
Pl.3. Minor shrine - Munulapaka



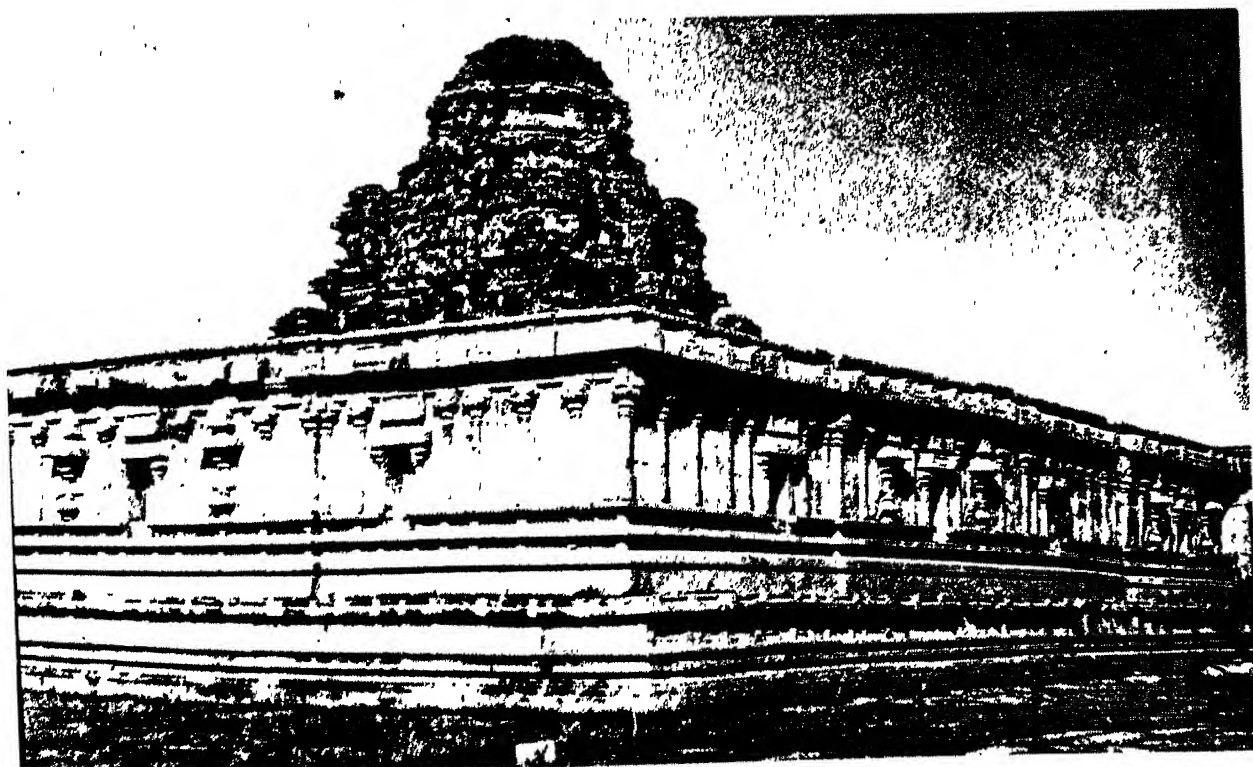
Pl.4. Temple built on a hillock - Hampi



Pl.5 Temple located in the Chandragiri Fort - Chandragiri



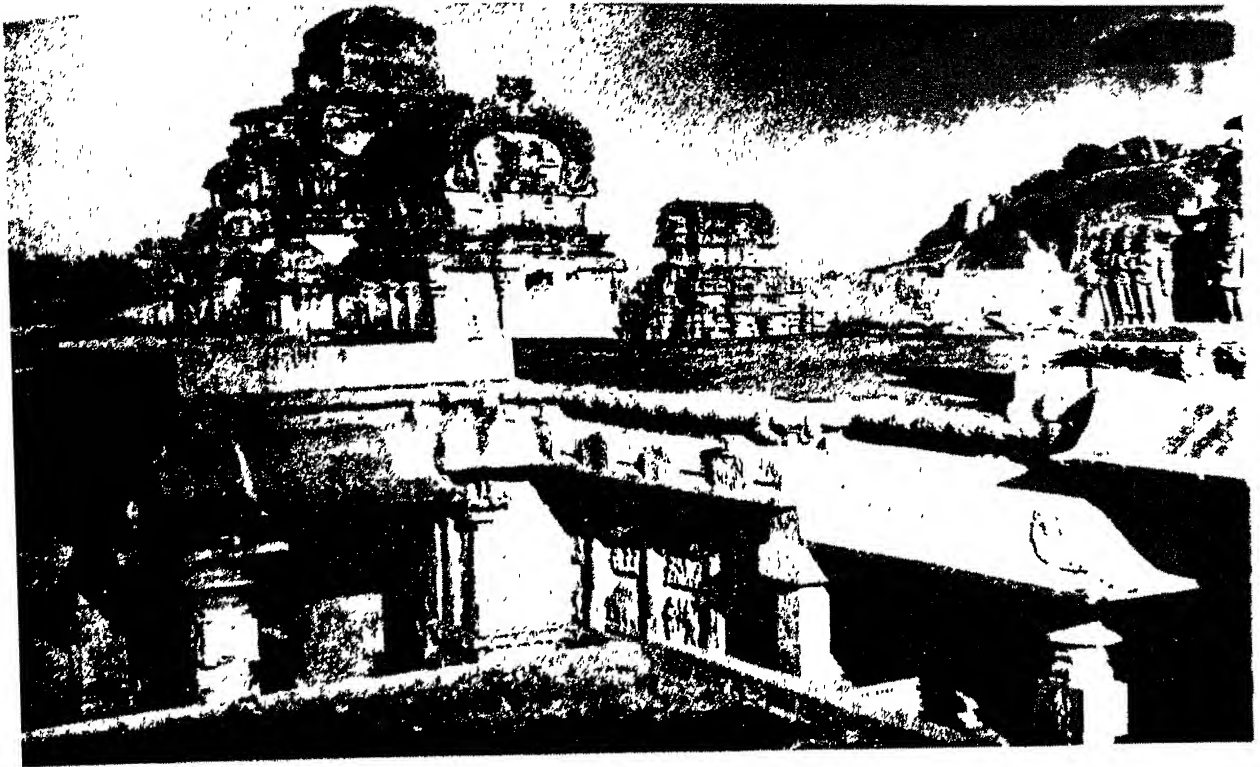
Pl.6. Raghunāthālaya - Lepākshi



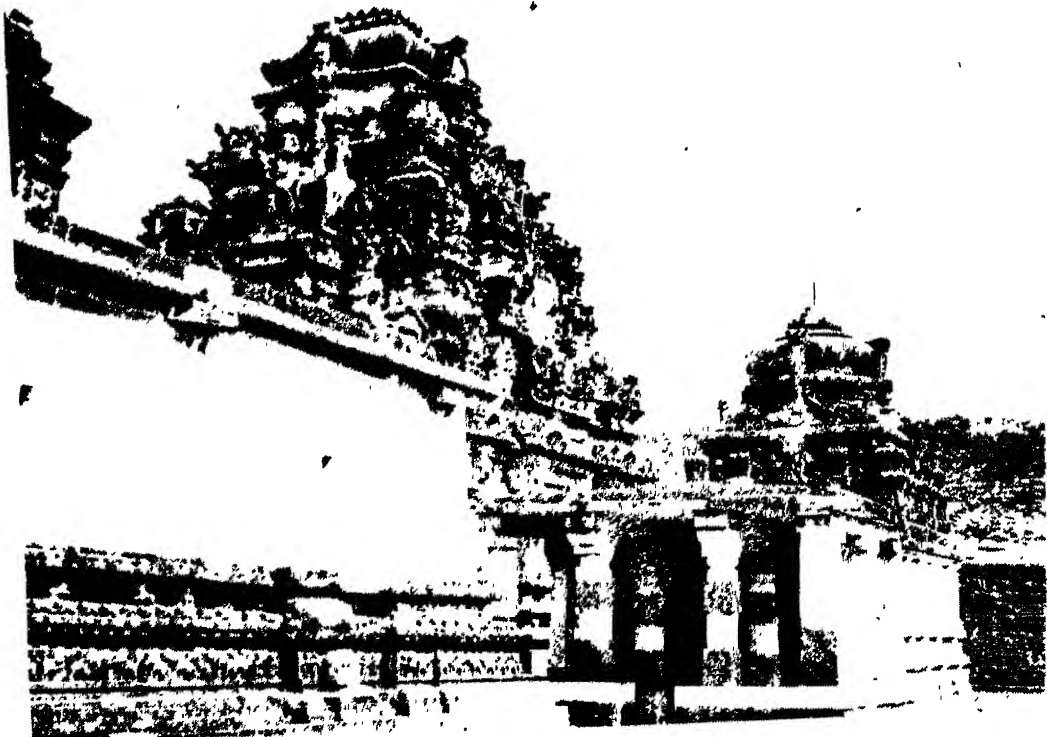
Pl.7. Vithala Temple - Hampi



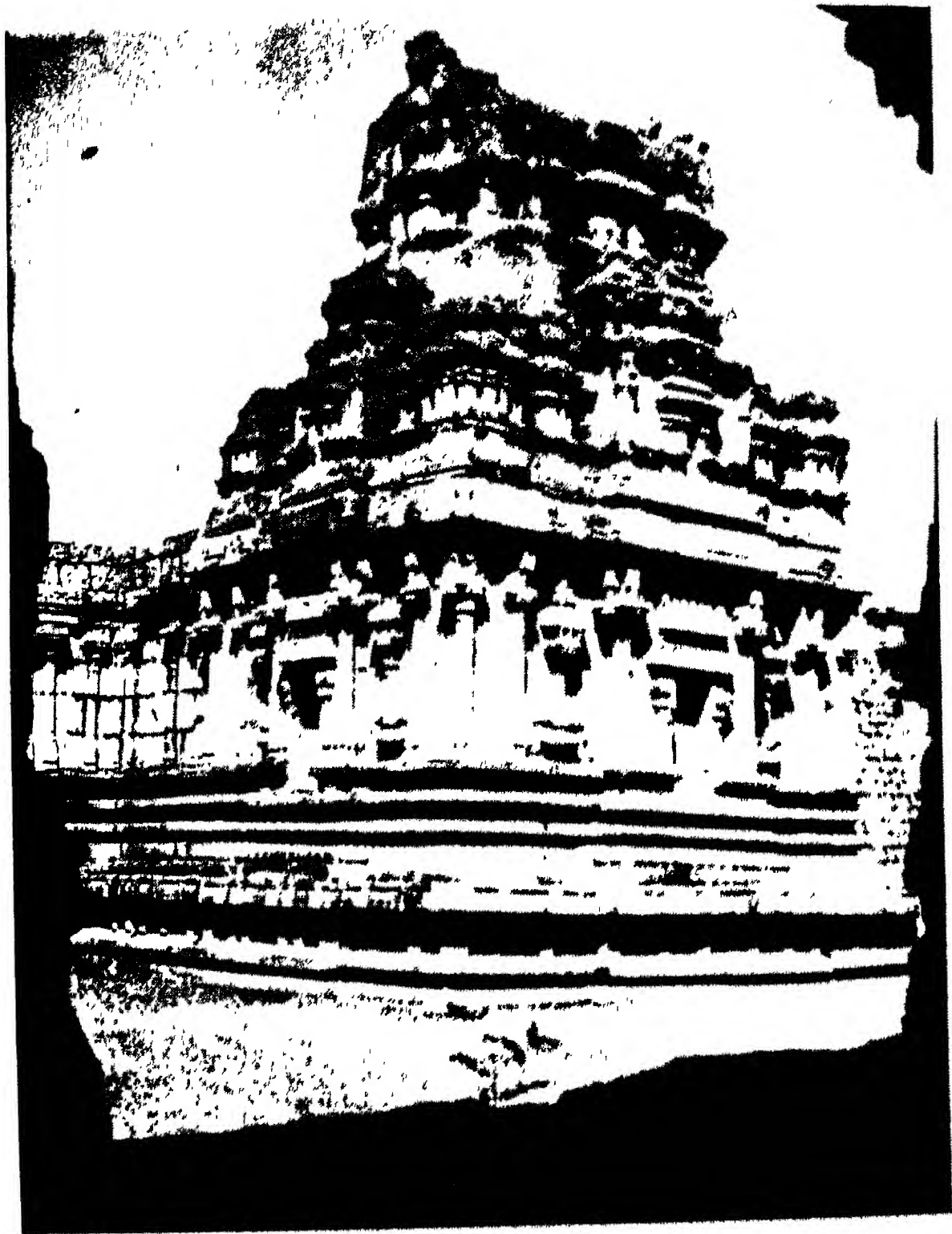
Pl 8. Umamaheswara Temple - Pushpagiri



Pl.9. Hazara Rama Temple - Hampi



Pl.10. Chennakesava Temple - Pushpagiri



Pl.11. Dēvi shrine - Achyutaraya Temple Hampi



Pl.12. Siva Temple - Hampi

EROTIC SCULPTURES IN ORISSAN TEMPLES

—*Dr. Ram Chandro Misra*

Art is not a matter of accurate naturalistic representation, nor a mere record of what the eye sees. Be it sculpture or painting, unless the artist searches for the elements of form, colour, design, mass, and volume, beyond the mere visual exterior of his subject matter, he cannot achieve anything worthy of being characterized as a work of art

In the appreciation of Indian sculpture one fundamental fact must be recognized that the Indian sculptor was pre-eminently a stone carver and not a modeller¹. Individualism, as such, was foreign to the ancient Indian artist because art was not practised for art's sake. The religious needs of the people created the demand for sculpture and painting and consequently guilds of sculptors, painters, and architects, grew up in various parts of the country².

Though Indian sculpture is in the main a religious art, it is not merely illustrative of religious themes. The basic inspiration was no doubt always religious in character, but the chiselling into a finished form was the result of a subtle and inborn appreciation of the soundest principles of aesthetics³. No other hypothesis can satisfactorily account for the greatness of what was achieved.

One of the great centres of erotica is the Sun Temple at Konark, Orissa. What is known as the temple to-day is only a minor part of the original superstructure, the main temple with its massive 'Vimāna' crashed long ago. The existing temple is a great repository of erotic sculptures executed with extraordinary imagination and skill.

To the eastern world, however, the subject of erotics and its philosophical and religious interpretations are not a new wonder. They are deeply rooted in the social life of the people. In a country where the Liṅga cult is the source of religious belief and its manifestations are to be seen in pictorial forms, starting from a very early period of civilisation, the erotic sculptures

of the Konark temple are but the manifestation of a tradition which accepts procreation as a major function of life⁴

Indian art rose over the metabolism of man, to represent the natural and supernatural in perfect harmony. Pure devotion and the obscene together, complete the repertory to show the plastic forms⁵. Indian art therefore is creative but its spiritual basis is often misunderstood by the uninitiated. To the one ultimate Universal Being, there was nothing unknown about frail humanity, because he was omniscient.

Late Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru while referring to the charm of Indian art stated : "In India we find during every period, when her civilization bloomed, an intense joy of life and nature, a pleasure in the art of living, the development of art, music, and literature, song, dancing and painting, theatres and highly sophisticated enquiry into sex relations". (*Discovery of India*).

Erotica may be found displayed in varying degrees in temples throughout India : nude women, tantalizing dancing figures, women engaged in various personal acts and the ubiquitous 'mithunas' – the loving couples. The statues, sometimes life size, found in those temples represent men and women engaged in coitus with a clear modelling of their sexual organs. It does not end at that, but proceeds further to explore a termless zone of erotic experience. It includes sexual fantasies. The sexual behaviour exhibited in those temples can only be termed as 'pornographic', 'perverse', or 'obscene', by to day's standards, for, we do not have any other terms to convey such concepts. To us all those terms, have an illicit flavour. But the frank show of the diverse ways of deriving sexual gratification indicates that the authors and by far extent, their society was free from any inhibitions. Most of those temples were built between the tenth century and the thirteenth centuries A.D. Sex certainly had a different meaning to those medieval people than it has to us to-day⁶.

In order to give the precise meaning of erotic or obscene figures, Dr. K C Panigrahi writes, "By obscene or erotic figures, we mean here only those sculptures which represent the different poses of the sexual act, as described in the '*Kāma-śāstra*', or otherwise conceived by the human mind"⁷ Moreover, Dr. Panigrahi is not concerned here with metaphysical sense of obscenity. Nudity, kissing or even the sexual act as such, are not filthy or debased, if the motive behind the human mind expressing them in terms of literature, sculpture or painting is actuated by a feeling of spiritual refinement⁸. If the intention itself is unholy or depraved, the depiction inevitably becomes unholy. It depends on the observer too, how he views it. If his debased mind gets involved in sex activities alone without understanding or caring for the aesthetic part of the rendering, it is not the creation that is to be blamed, but the vulgar approach of the observer which vitiates the purity of it⁹.

The richness of Orissan sculpture is clearly reflected in its Nāyika images. Art historians and iconographers term them 'Surasundari' figures, but they are locally known as "Alasakanyas" or "Sālabhaṅjikas". They are, however, not confined to Orissa and are found in the later Gupta-period temples throughout Northern and Central India. But the Orissan temples contain the most arresting representations, depicting the feminine form in all its grace and sensuousness¹⁰.

It is only after the 8th century A.D. that the idea of nudity was introduced. In the Jaina caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri, the Buddhist relics of Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri and Dhauligiri and in some earlier temples of Bhubaneswar, there is no suggestion of the nude¹¹. But in later years, evidently due to the influence of Tāntric worship, we find semi-nude Nāyika figures in the temples. One can find semi-nude Nāyika figures in the shrine of Jagannāth at Puri and in the Sun Temple at Konark. The temples of Raja Rani, Lingaraj, Brahmeswar and Sisireswar also contain both semi-nude and fully decked Nāyikas, with the latter prepondering.

At Konark in the famous Sun Temple, erotic sculpture of a very high order is to be found, and the female figure, though beautiful indeed, has reached the limit of sensuousness, permissible in sound aesthetics¹². But what can be the meaning of the erotic figures that are found in abundance on the walls ? They excite curiosity in some visitors, but a feeling of disgust in many others

The erotic sculpture in the Indian temple is an old enigma, still craving for a solution. There is a seeming contradiction in erotica being displayed in a place of worship. But if one is led to believe that the presence of such figures is an isolated phenomenon only in the temples of Orissa, he is mistaken. They occur in some temples of Khajuraho in Bundelkhand and in the modern temples of Nepal and Tibet. They are also to be found in the terra-cottas preserved in many of the modern temples of Bengal and in the paintings and decoration of metal and wooden 'rathas' of the Bengali Vaishnavas¹³. But, prominence given to them in the Orissan temples has rather become a disturbing feature and probably we have failed to understand the sexual mores of bygone people.

Voyeurism, masturbation, fellatio, bestiality, sodomy, group sex, anything you name it, they have it. But who were the people, who put sex in temples ? What reasons they had to do so. Why such orgiastic sex, any way ? And why the exuberance of erotic scenes found only in temples built during a particular period and in a particular region ?

So far, scholars have given no satisfactory explanation for the occurrence of these figures. Mr. M.M. Ganguly, who has been the first scholar to make a systematic study of the Orissan temples, called them to be "the most perplexing features of Orissan Architecture"¹⁴ and Prof. R.D. Banerji, an authority on Orissan History, admitted that "the presence of indecent figures on religious edifices is still a puzzle"¹⁵.

The erotic sculpture at Konark, like its counterpart in Khajuraho, has invited a number of ill informed comments from unappreciative foreign critics. Michael Edwardes sarcastically refers to Konark as "a cinema blue (Blue Film) of the most sophisticated kind"¹⁶ Zimmer remarks "Numerous erotic scenes suggest the sensuous delights enjoyed by the happy occupants of the Sun-God's celestial realm, where (to use the language of the *tantra*) 'Bhōga is Yōga', 'delight is religion'. Still others have seen the figures "as representative of some objectionable cult associated with the worship of the Sun and including orgiastic rites". But the truth lies somewhere else. In Indian tradition and belief, religion is not something divorced from life. Synthesis of the spiritual and the sensual is a cardinal cornerstone of Indian Philosophy¹⁷

The erotic sculptures of Konark, in its eroticism, surpass those of Khajuraho¹⁸ group of sculptures. The temples of Central India, Bengal and Orissa have puzzled sociologists, art historians, and religionists alike, on account of their 'pornographic' sculptures¹⁹. Many scholars labour in vain to explain the 'Porno Phenomenon' of Konark and Khajuraho. They fail because of a singular mistake. They seem to approach the problem with a guilt complex and to struggle to defend it rather than view it objectively²⁰. But the modern apologists claim that they are pornography only in the eyes of the people, with dirty minds²¹. Pornography is a statement about adult human sexual relations made by an immature or infantile mind, and the evil of pornography lies in the sanction it gives, by virtue of its clandestine existence, to adopt immature or infantile patterns of sexual behaviour²². Pornography invariably offers a derisive or destructive comment on adult human sexual love. Pornography flourishes in the shade; it does not come out into the open, into the Sun. The sculptures of Konark, bathed in sunshine, are emphatically not pornography²³. Moreover, no female image of Konark is starkly naked. All of them are ornamented with crowns, necklaces, bracelets and bangles. In many *mithuna* scenes they are not alone even when making love, which suggest that what they are doing is not felt

to be done in bedroom privacy. Their love-making is a sort of ritual dance to be shown in public meeting, no secrecy at all²⁴.

To Dr. K.C.Panigrahi, it is the religious motive which has actuated the builders to lavish their all on the temples and it is the same motive which must have been responsible for the introduction of obscene figures in them, however outrageous they may be, to modern religious sentiments²⁵. It is found that the obscene figures do not appear in the temples of Paraśurāmēśvara and Mukteśvara at Bhubaneswar and of Gandharadi in the Baudh State, which, according to R.D.Banerji, are the earliest group of temples in Orissa dating back from 8th century A.D.²⁶; but they are found in profusion in the latest group viz., the temples of Rāja-rāṇi at Bhubaneswar, Jagannātha at Puri and Sūrya at Konark, assigned to a period between 10th and 13th centuries A.D. Hence, it may be concluded that, if any religious significance was attached to the obscene figures, such a significance must have originated from the religious form or thought obtaining in India in a period later than the 7th or 8th century A.D.²⁷.

In these sculptures the principal question that confronts us is the occurrence of erotic scenes. One realises our failure to evaluate what its builders felt, what were the ideas that gave birth to the concepts, their approach and methods of representations. In the abode of the gods, where devotees congregated to purify their overburdened souls, even the most catholic modern mind fails to appreciate this evident lack of moral basis in admittedly religious structures, around the 'sanctum sanctorum' of the 'one ultimate Universal Being' : who is the basic source of all moral and ethical living²⁸. Were they the creation of perverted minds, glorying in presenting the baser aspects of divine love to human spectators? Because, love ennobles members of either sex in this impermanent world. Were they products of versatile geniusness, who tried their best to express in terms of stone, the most refined and profound philosophical truths ? Stella Kramrisch, has stated : Moral man, limited in action, has only two

arms and hands ; but an Indian image of divinity may have many times that number, to show the divine acts in all directions of peace throughout the cosmos. The pliable plastic form in which the arms proliferate sculpturally is consistent in itself, yet may appear paradoxical when thought of outside the creative mould in which the multiple arms and hands are cast as symbols²⁹.

Sculpture at Konark is a feast for the eyes. Carved out from the most gigantic size to almost miniature figures, fitted into almost inconceivable niches, these figures, exploit to the full, the beautiful feminine figure and all the teachings of the '*Kāmasūtra*' and the '*Nāṭyaśāstra*'³⁰. The basement platform as well as the facades of the hall proper, are covered with sculptured friezes reflecting the joy of Life on earth and the energizing power of the Sun, Arka — the Giver-of-all Life. Speaking of the shrine, Coomaraswamy observes : "It is a hymn of life, a frank and exquisite glorification of creative forces". Many of the Konark sculptures are of a highly erotic character. There are rows of entwined bodies, mainly human, in the most moving forms, and engaged in a great variety of amorous activities. It is an aspect of Indian art which puzzles many. But it would be well to understand that the delineation of the act of love on the wall of the Sun temple, as also elsewhere during this period, is not mere sensuous imagery. It is even more the expression of a highly sophisticated enquiry into sex relations, and a symbolic manifestation of the profound emotional urges of man³¹.

To explain the erotic scenes, some take refuge in poetic abstraction, others rake up secret religious cult and yet others resort to verbosity, the sum total of which comes to naught. Some shrug it off as beyond the range of modern mind.

It has been argued that the depiction of sexual scenes in the temples of India is the culmination of a long artistic and literary tradition which is redolent with uninhibited sexual descriptions³². These include the writings of Kālidāsa and Bhavabūti and the sexual manuals of Vātsāyan. Lakshman Acharya, in his *Chandrikuchapañchaśika* delights in describing the breasts

of Chāṇḍī in 50 verses. Again during the medieval period, the imagery of the Hindu saints was based on the allegory of personal love to illustrate the devotion to the Gods, and the poetry of the period achieved, its culmination in Jaideva's *Gīta Govīṇḍa* which sang of love between man and woman, garbed as Kṛishṇa and Rādhā.

Some others argue that the erotic sculptures were prepared to ward off the evil spirits from the temple. The envy of the evil spirits like ghosts and other malevolent spirits cause the destruction of the temple, for which these repulsive figures were added³³

Another kind of explanation maintains that the presence of obscene figures, prevents the temples from being struck with lightning. The idea of indecent figures serving as lightning conductors is ludicrous to the modern man. Besides, the extant *Silpa Sāstras* which generally give an explanation for each aspect of temple architecture, do not explain the phenomenon in this manner³⁴. They have rather remained silent on this point³⁵

Buddhism has also been blamed for the erotica in Hindu temples. This hypothesis maintains that the preponderance of erotic sculptures in Central Indian Hindu temples is due to the sudden release of the pent-up sexual emotions on the decline of Buddhism which had severely curbed such emotions³⁶.

That the temple was the hub of social life and the only place open to the masses for some education is common knowledge by now. With this theory as a take-off point some advocate that the sexual sculptures were placed in temples for the education of the common people³⁷. Ostensibly, they have the purpose of educating the public in the philosophy of *Kāma-Kāla* (love play) and its intricate techniques³⁸.

There are others who would hold a more plausible view of the social context of the life of the people and their activities, in which, sex played a major part. From the nature of the compositions of the sexplay, they appear to be very normal with the variations of the theme

which are the manifestations of the curious and the inventive faculty of the human mind³⁹ But compared to these, we find the erotic sculptures of the temples of Khajuraho somewhat different. They definitely suggest a kind of Yōgic principle of exercises of attaining salvation through union with the female partner - Śakti, and that is why, perhaps, the poses have become so acrobatic, intricate and abnormal⁴⁰.

The art minded persons find in them an attempt of the sculptor to depict life in all its naked reality. The obscene figures in the temples of Orissa form a class by themselves in which obscenity has been exhibited not as a necessary element of artistic requirement, but very often to depict the sexual relations of man and woman in all their nakedness.

Art historians anxious to explain these erotic figures have insisted, though with very little conviction, that the embraces typify 'the idea of *moksha* or union with the divine, the achievement of that primordial unity broken at the time *Puruṣa* (the cosmic Man) divided himself to create the world'⁴¹.

Another interpretation is that the sculptures, which display all (and more) of the *bandhas* or positions listed in that celebrated (though overrated) manual – the *Kāmasūtra*, are in fact advertisements for the delights available from the *dēvadāsīs* or temple prostitutes. Thus, these could have been advertisement for the charms of *Dēvadāsīs*⁴² to attract visitors to their fold.

"Is it possible that actually the *mithunas* were placed on the walls with the very idea of attracting the people to visit the temple and eventually worship within?" asks Rustam J. Mehta in his book *Konark*. Like in to-day's advertising world, where women and sexual motifs are widely used for sales promotions! Thus, there are several explanations to the riddle. It is also said that the sculptors who toiled for months and years found relaxation in carving these erotic figures. Coomaraswamy reveals his great insight as an art critic when he says, "The sculptures of Women (here) are frankly the works of lovers."

One notable student of Indian architecture, Mr. Percy Brown, has even gone to the length of doubting the survival of the demoralised race of people, who were responsible for carving them in stone and who, according to him, might have carried into practice the gross vulgarities displayed by these figures⁴³. These sweeping remarks however betray a lack of knowledge of the origin and purpose of these plastic obscenities and also in Orissan history.

To others, the Hindu temple is a symbolic monument. The coherence of its form shows a comprehensive idea. Moreover, in every age, temples are considered as the symbolic representation of God. To promote devotion and the concentration of innate faith in the divine-being, these temples are constructed. There is a theory that, the body is the temple, the soul is the immortal deity, so forsake ignorance; meditate that you, *atman*, is God⁴⁴.

Many believe that, there is a purpose behind the portrayal of erotic scenes. It was expected of all the pilgrims that they should leave their lust outside and enter the sanctum, where the deity is placed, with a clean heart. It has also been believed to be a means of testing the devotion of the pilgrims. In spite of the temptations of the sexual scenes depicted in the temple, if the devotee could think of God, it was a mark of his unflinching faith. He had to cross the zone of sensuous temptation to reach the area of spirituality. Thus, the erotic figures have been viewed by a few as the cleanser or the purifier for the devotees who come to worship God. These sculptures, they say, serve as a test of the devotees' strength of mind to reach the goal or the objective.

It will thus appear that obscene sculptures were primarily meant as the tests to be put to a visitor before he was entitled to *darśan* or salvation. There is no doubt that they had a religious sanction for their representation on the religious structures, or else, it is inconceivable that they would have been allowed to be carved on them⁴⁵. But this religious sanction was exceeded or abused in some cases, particularly during the late medieval period when, as already noted, the great temples stood not only for religion, but also for pomp and show⁴⁶.

Besides, at Konark the Orissa plastic art reached its zenith, and the Oriya artists, not being satisfied with the 'amazingly beautiful' sculptures that they produced, displayed their artistic skill in producing these intricate erotic figures which must have required no little knowledge of human anatomy and the sense of perspective and proportion⁴⁷. Looked at from purely artistic stand-point, they are really the wonderful products of plastic art.

A section of the authorities have tried to justify these erotic figures on the facades of the Konark temple, as the exercise of the Tantric rituals and particularly, it is attributed to the Tantric cult of the Kaula Kapālika sect. Tantricism is a cult of cosmic sexuality, which maintains that the sexual act is the human counterpart of the scheme of Universal Creation. That the soul is in the Yoni, the female sexual organ. Bhōga, physical pleasure, is considered more efficacious in attaining salvation than yōga, spiritual exercise. Sex, uninhibited sex, therefore, forms the most important tenet of this faith. Thus, in Tantric thought, sex came to play a growingly important symbolic role. In Tantric yōga there are five M's⁴⁸ such Mada (wine), Matsya (fish), Marīsa (meat), Mudra (aphrodisiacs) and Mithuna (sex). These very five temptations, wine, meat, fish, parched grain and physical union, became the vehicles for liberation⁴⁹. In fact, the five elements were enjoined as part of the ritual, which is meaningless without them. This philosophy had gained popularity during the declining years of Buddhism in India⁵⁰.

It is undeniable that, the numerous Lakulīsa images prove that ancient and medieval Orissa was a stronghold of the Kāpālikas or the Kaulas. They were one of the sects of Lakulīsa-Pasupatas. These Kāpālikas used to be associated with yōginis in whose temples they performed their orgiastic rites⁵¹. The existence of two *chaushaut-yōgini* and hypatheral temples in Orissa lend colour to this theory. Lakulīsa doctrine in the very beginning, like Neo-Vaishnavism, might have been very pure, but in course of time degenerated into objectionable practices⁵². It was the Kāpālikas who practised human sacrifice which took place

in Orissa Centuries after the appearance of Lakulīśa, the cult practices and its esoteric rituals failed to be reformed by any one and the absurd practices continued to exist. This is probably one of the reasons of erotic sculptures on the temples of Orissa.

Scholars like Dr K C Panigrahi also supports this view. He writes, 'To me it appears that, they owe their origin to Tāntrism in which sex plays a very important part and which greatly influenced the religious thought and culture of the Early Medieval India'⁵⁴ The fact that, these indecent figures are found in the religious shrines only of the Eastern India and the parts of the Central India contiguous to it, lends support to this proposition, because, it is the eastern part of India which formed the cradle of 'Tāntrism' with its centre at Nalanda⁵⁴

The influence of 'Tāntrism' on the Early Medieval Orissa is illustrated in the images of Trailōkyavijaya, Heruka and three-headed Bhairava, all recovered from the Cuttack District⁵⁵, and also in a number of Buddhist images, which are now preserved in the State Museum. Moreover, Ratnagiri in the Jaipur Sub-division of Cuttack, from which the majority of these images hail, was an important centre of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, which favoured and nurtured 'Tāntrism'⁵⁶ The religious motives must have actuated the builders of the Orissan temples to allow the obscene figures to be carved on them.

In Orissa, erotic figures are absent from the earliest temples, but they first make their appearance on the temples assignable to the Bhauma Period, which was dominated by the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism that fostered Tāntrism⁵⁷. During the Bhauma Period, Tāntrism influenced and debased Śaivism. It has been noticed that the Sisireśvara temple has been influenced by the Mahāyāna School which fostered Tāntrism⁵⁸. It is exactly on this temple that for the first time we notice the obscene sculptures, which were absent in the earlier temples, but which became so prominent in the later ones. The origin of these erotic figures must therefore be traced to the Tāntric form of Buddhism.

It was also during this period that several philosophical doctrines claiming attainment of spiritual deliverance through sensual enjoyment in a most dispassionate manner were being spread through the Kaula, Kāpālika, and the Tāntric sects⁵⁹. In their various rituals, the woman assumed the role of Sakti (life-force) while the male initiate became Siva, and together they attained the ecstasy of realisation of Divine Grace. In Tāntric thought, sex came to play an unprecedented symbolic role. The act of love was interpreted as typifying that ultimate state where the Individual and the Universal are no longer separate, but become one, and the human experience of the joy of Physical Union was seen as a symbol of the supreme joy of God in the act of creation⁶⁰. This tendency manifested itself in sculpture in the frankly erotic scenes.

The gigantic shrine at Konark, now in ruins, is one of the few temples in India dedicated to Sūrya (Sun God). The main temple has crumbled down, but what still stands remains a marvel. Built in mid-thirteenth century by king Narasinga Dēva, it is the crown of the achievements of the Orissan artists, and is a fine example of the perfect integration of architecture and sculpture, which is the characteristic feature of Indian temple building. "The language of man," said Rabindranath Tagore, "is here defeated by the language of stone. The stone does not weave words, one after another. It does not say anything definite, but all it has to say, it says at once. And what it says occupies our whole mind". The Konark temple is characterised by an overwhelming exuberance of sculptures of every kind. A variety of sculptures and architectural members, boldly designed and richly decorated, visualise the temple in all its splendour and magnificence. Even in its ruin, it now illumines India and her art shines forth throughout the world as a momentous creation of human endeavour. The words of the great chronicler of Akbar's Court, uttered in respect of Konark, three centuries after it was built, are true even now, another three centuries after. "Even those whose judgement is critical and who are difficult to please, stand astonished at its sight".

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MONOLITHIC SCULPTURES FROM THE VICINITY OF VEMANAPALLI, CHINNUR TQ., ADILABAD DIST.

—Dr. K.Krishna Murthy

Huge monolithic sculptures¹ of red sand stone, numbering in all twelve are seen scattered on an elevated mound, strewn with outcrop of red sand stone near the tank Rajappa cheruvu in the vicinity of the village Vemanapalli of Chinnur taluq, Adilabad District. The sculptures comprise of Vēṇugōpāla, Balarāma, Narasimha, Gautama Buddha, Paraśurāma and Kūrma of Daśavatāra, besides the images of Batuka Bhairava, Hanumān, Kālīyamardana Krishna, Pārvati and Mahiṣāsura Mardani. Besides, sculptures of Annapūrṇa, Gaṇeśa, Hanumān etc., have also been noticed in the Śiva temple at Vēmanapalli. A little away from these sculptures, a hero-stone in red sand stone could also be seen. Some of the sculptures such as Hanumān, Vēṇugōpāla, Paraśurāma etc., contain Vaiṣṇava mark over the fore-head, thereby indicating the imminent Vaiṣṇava influence. At this place, however, one can see the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sculptures, probably carved out from the locally available out crop of red sand stone. On stylistic and iconographic grounds, these monoliths can be dated to the Gonds period of 16th century A.D. It is interesting that similar monolithic sculptures of red sand stone are available at Chandrapur, the southern seat of Gond rulers².

1. Narasimha (Plate I)

This figure is in mutilated condition. However, one can make out the elaborate head-gear, the *chennavīra*, *vaikākshaka*, *kanthābharana*, *kēyūras*, *prakōṣṭavalayas* of Nrsimha. The tearing of the stomach of Hiranyakasapa by Narasimha is impeccably carved. The perfection of the sculptor has reached its zenith in the carving of this image, when he realistically depicted the intestines of Hiranyakasapa. The carving of Hiranyakāsapa is also successfully done, when one finds the bloodshot eyes and grinning teeth. Hiranyakāsapa is also richly decorated. The *ardhōruka* worn by him is tied by means of *mēkhala*. Unfortunately, this figure is in bad

condition. The image is four handed. While, the upper right hand holds the *chakra*, the upper left hand holds the *śaṅkha* and the other two lower hands are engaged in tearing the stomach of Hiranyakaśapa. As the image is in mutilated condition, the measurement is quite deceptive.

This incarnation is always represented in a hybrid form. The name itself, a compound of *nara* and *simha*, is the authority for such a formation and as in the *Nṛ-varāha* type, the face is only that of animal and all the other parts of the body being human.

The man-lion incarnation is mentioned in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (10.1.7)³, besides *Bhāgavata purāṇa*, *Padma purāṇa*, *Śiva purāṇa*, *Matsya purāṇa*, *Vishṇudharmottara*, *Rūpamaṇḍana* etc. According to the *Matsya purāṇa*, the God and the demon should be shown fighting, with their legs interlocked. The former should appear as being repeated 'attacked' by the tired demon, who should be shown as holding a sword and a shield⁴.

The *Śilparatna*, the *Agni purāṇa*, the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* also give the description of this incarnation. This terrific form of Narasimha is rarely represented in iconoplastic art. In this respect, the sculpture in reference is quite significant.

2. Paraśurāma (2.88 x 1.62 x 0.43 Mts.)

He is standing in *samabhaṅga* posture. He is two handed. The left hand is holding *dhanus*, while the right hand is holding battle-axe (*kuṭāra*). The head gear is elaborate. Similarly, the other ornaments are richly carved. His fore-head is adorned with *Vaiṣṇavite* mark.

Paraśurāma, as his name suggests, in iconography, should hold battle axe (*paraśu*) in his right hand and in *daśavatāra* slabs, he is invariably shown as two armed. However, some texts describe four armed variety of this image, which are very rare. In the *Agni purāṇa*, we get the description of the four armed image of this incarnation, which carry *paraśu*, *khadga*, *bāṇa*, and *dhanus*. The *Vishṇudharmottara* further adds that he should be shown as wearing a deer skin.

3. Kūrma (Tortoise) (2.28 x 1.68 x 0.50 Mts.) (Plate II)

Carving of the *kūrma* in this dimension is quite interesting. The root of the legend of the tortoise incarnation can be seen in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (vii.4.3.5). The story of *kūrma* is also available in *kūrma purāṇa* Chapter-I, *Mahā purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata purāṇa*⁵. The image of this *avatāra* is generally worked out in a form which is half-man and half-tortoise, the lower part being the tortoise. It should have four hands, two of which carry *śaṅkha* and *chakra*, while the other two are held in *varada* and *abhaya* poses. The image of *kūrmāvatāra* can also be like an original tortoise as seen in the present case.

4. Balarāma

He is standing in *sambhāṅga* aspect. Since the image is badly mutilated, the details of it are mostly erased. However, one can make out the elaborate head gear and the *nūpura* besides the beautiful *yasthi*. He is wearing *chennavīra*, *vaikāśhaka* and *muktayajñōpavīta*. The *mēkhala* and the *udarabaṇḍha* are quite extant. He is holding *halā* (plough-share) in his left hand.

Balarāma's importance in the cult is proved by literary as well as archaeological data. The *Mahābhāṣya* refers to the temple of Gaṇapati, Rāma and Kēśava, and Rāma in this context is no other than Balarāma. *Putāṇjali* while commenting on *Sūtra* (II.23) refers to *Saṅkarshaṇa*, who is no other than Balarāma. The *Bṛihat Saṁhita* lays down that Baladēva should be shown with a plough-share in his hand, his eyes should be round and rolling, indicating his inebriety. He should wear only one ring and his body should be white, like a conch shell, or moon or like a white lotus (Chapter 57, V, 36)⁶. Further, we also get the description of Balarāma, in the *Vaikhānasāgama*, the *Bṛihat Saṁhita*, the *Agni purāṇa* etc.

Two or four armed varieties of this image are described in later iconographic texts in which, the canopy, snakehood and the plough-share in one of the hands are almost invariably

mentioned In the present case, the plough-share can be made out although the other attribute is not traceable, in view of the mutilated condition of the sculpture One of the earliest Brāhmanical images of his, is found at Mathura, which is now housed in Lucknow Museum and V S Aggarwal assigns 2nd century B.C⁷ as the date to the sculpture.

5. Gautama Buddha (1.77 x 1.23 x 0.28 Mts.) (Plate III)

He is seated in *padmāsana*. The wide opened eyes, and elongated ear lobes of this image are realistic. As it is exposed, the disintegration of the sand stone is quite distinct.

The Buddha, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, is counted among the ten *avatāras*, but it is rarely worshipped in Hindu temples. The *Brahmiya Silpa* does not include Buddha in the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu It mentions Kṛiṣṇa in the place of Buddha. The *Mānasāra* describes the Buddha as made of white stone, seated or standing, on a lion pedestal, under the Pipal tree, with two hands, *uṣṇīṣa* of yellow cloth, broad fore-head, long earlobes, wider eyes, protruding nose, smiling countenance, long arms, broad chest, fleshy limbs and body When standing, his arms must be made to hang down loosely. The *Bṛiḥat Saṁhita* describes him that he should have the arms of his hands and the soles of the feet marked with lotus He should be placid in form. And his ears should be very short. He should be seated on a lotus, appearing as the father of the whole world⁸.

The *Agni purāṇa*'s description of the Buddha figure contains most of the essential iconographic features to which the *Hayasīrsha Parīṣaratra* adds few more details. In the *Daśāvatāra* slab, Buddha is almost invariably shown standing with right hand in the *abhaya* pose

6. Venūgōpāla (2.64 x 1.45 x 0.17 Mts.) (Plate IV)

He is standing in *ardhasamabhaṅga* posture. He is two handed He is playing on the flute. The esoteric sense of this flute play and the dance is the supreme joy which the

devotees experience in moments of overflowing love, in the presence of the object of their devotion. The *kirīṭamakuta* with *maulya maṇi* tucked in the centre is realistic. He wears *Vaiṣṇava* mark over the forehead. The *mallika kuṭmala hāra* with *nāyakamaṇi* in the centre, adorns the neck of *Vēṇugōpāla*. The elaborate *aṅgadas*, and the *prakōṣṭavalayas*, the *maṇi-mēkhala* and the *mañjīra* are impeccably portrayed. There is an elaborate *aṅtarīya* secured by means of *mēkhala*, the tassels of which cling in the centre. Flanking *Vēṇugōpāla* on either side are, the two *gōpikas* with cow. The *yashti* is quite impressive. It is unique among the sculptures available in this area. The integration of the sculpture is quite extant. On either side of *Vēṇugōpāla* are carved *śaṅkha* and *chakra*, which are inevitable appendages to the *Vaiṣṇava* Gods.

7. Hanuman (2.72 x 1.15 x 0.33 Mts.) (Plate V)

The standing image of Hanumān is in *tribhaṅga* posture. He is two handed. He has kept his left hand akimbo touching the waist, while his right hand is held high. His protruded eyes and teeth, reveal the *veera* posture. He wears *ardhamakuta* and *vaiṣṇava* mark on the forehead. The *prakōṣṭavalayas*, *keyūras*, *bhujakīrtis* and the *aṅgulikas* are quite visible. He is wearing a beautiful *kaṇṭi*, *kanthābharana* and *valjayaṅṭi*. The elaborate *mēkhalakalāpa* secures the *aṅtarīya*. The *vanamala* adorns the image. On the right corner, *śaṅkha* is carved.

8. Kāliya Krishna (2.93 x 1.90 x 0.22 Mts.) (Plate VI)

Krishṇa in his *nṛtya* pose is shown trampling *kāliya*. The *kirīṭamakuta*, *kaṇṭi*, *kanthābharana*, the *yashti*, *mēkhala* and *nūpura* are realistically carved. The *aṅtarīya* is secured by means of *mēkhala*, the tassels of which dangle in the centre. *Nāgakanyas*, flanking Śrīkrishṇa on either side, are in *añjali* pose. What is interesting is the depiction of hair style bun, which has survived to this day. This bun hair-style is a very old style known to India, right from 1st century B.C., and it is to be seen on the *tōraṇas* of Sāñchi. It was present at

Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Mathura, Gandhara and at Ajanta and persists till today. In all probability, it had been borrowed from some foreign country through Greece and Rome.

According to the *Śilpaśāstra*, the right foot of the Kāṭya Krishna is slightly bent and the left raised up. Of the two arms, the left is stretched out in the *abhaya* posture and the right holds the tail of the serpent.

9. Baṭuka Bhairava (2.41 x 1.15 x 0.59 Mts.) (Plate VII)

He is in *tribhaṅga* posture. He is four handed, the lower right hand holds *khadga*, while the lower left hand holds *kapāla*. The upper left hand is holding *triśūla*, while the upper right hand is holding kettle-drum (*ḍamaru*). The anatomical features are quite proportionate and reveal rolling round eyes, thick lips and robust limbs. He is wearing *kanāḍika*, the *kañṭhābharana* and the *kañṭi*. The *bhujakīrtis* are elaborate. Besides, the *kañṭhābharana*, there is also *kapālamāla*. The *kēyūras*, *prakōṣṭavalayas* and *nūpuras* are artistic in their depiction. Such a huge standing nude Bhairava is usually found in the northern part of the country and its presence at this place is quite significant. At the foot of Bhairava, there is a *śunaka* which is an inevitable appendage for such iconographic depiction.

Bhairava, in Hindu iconography, is described as one of those terrific forms (*ghōra*) of Śiva. He is also known as *Kālabhairava*, *Amarādaka* and *Pāpabhakṣa*. The *Śiva purāṇa* considers him as Lord of city of Kāśī and *pūṣarūpa*⁹. Bhairava is also described as *Brahmaśiraschhēdika* in some of the *purāṇas* and *āgamas*¹⁰. The *Śrītattvanidhi* mentions that, the figure of this aspect of Śiva should be white in complexion, having three eyes and four arms, carrying *vajra* and *paraśu*, in right hands and *kapāla* and *śūla* in the left. The figure should have a *jaṭamakuta* over the head and *kuṇḍalas* in the ears. The deity should also be draped in garments of tiger skin.

The *Vishnudharmottara*'s account of Bhairava is typical¹¹ According to this work, Bhairava should have a flabby belly, round yellow eyes, side tusks and wide nostrils. He should be wearing a garland of skulls and adorned with snake ornaments. He should be as dark as the rainy cloud with his garment resembling the colour of elephant's skin. He should be possessed of several arms decorated with all sorts of weapons and should be represented as frightening Pārvati with snakes. Hemadri's description¹² of Bhairava is much similar. Accordingly he should possess a grim face with protruding teeth, a pot belly, a garland of skulls and serpent as ornaments. He has plaited hairs and several hands.

Three forms of Bhairava namely Baṭuka Bhairava, Svarṇākaraṣaṇa-Bhairava and 64 Bhairavas are envisaged¹³. Baṭuka Bhairava is described as nude, terrific in appearance with protruding fangs, rolling and round eyes, his hands holding objects like, *khaḍga*, a *khaṭvaṅga*, a *śūla* or a *kapala*, usually wearing wooden sandals and often shown accompanied by a dog. In *Baṭuka bhairava kalpa*¹⁴ also he is mentioned as stark naked and riding upon a dog. The *Sāradātīlaka tantra*¹⁵ mentions three different kinds of Images of Baṭuka-Bhairava namely the *Sātvika*, *Rajasika* and *Tamasika*.

The south Indian texts give *vaṭuka*, a dog as vehicle, but there is no mention of dog in the *Sāradātīlaka tantra*. In actual representation however, all the details given for *vaṭuka* do not always agree. However, the sculpture of Bhairava under reference is that of Baṭuka-Bhairava. Here, the dog is shown licking at the severed head held by his hand. Similar representation we get in the figure of Baṭuka Bhairava from Benaras¹⁶.

10. Durga-Mahisha Mardani

It is in mutilated condition. This image of Mahishamardani is worshipped locally in the name of *Yellamma*. The image is in a very bad shape. But one can make out the trampling

demon, and the head pieces of Mahisha. On either side of this image are the *Chāmaradhārinis*. As it is mutilated, the measurement of the image is quite deceptive.

In literature, we get references to Durga Mahisha Mardani in *Bhīṣma parvam*, *Virāṭa parvam* and *Harivaṁśa*¹⁷. She is raised to a supreme position in the *Dēvīmahatmyam*, a section of the *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*¹⁸. The battle between Durga and Mahishāsura has been described in *Mahishāsuramardani stōtra* of the *Tantrasāra* and in the Sanskrit poems of *Mayūra*²⁰.

Similarly, the story of Durga-Mahishāsura is found in the *Varāha*²¹ and the *Vāmana purāṇas*²².

Durga-Mahisha mardani should plunge her trident (*śūla*) into the neck of the demon. She should have three eyes, high breasts, a thin waist and three bends in her body with her hair arranged in *jaṭāmakuṭa*. The decapitated trunk of the buffalo with blood gushing from its neck should lie at her feet, and the real asura, two armed carrying sword and shield, terrific in appearance and having knitted eye-brows should be visible, half emerged within the neck. The right leg of the Dēvī should be placed on her lion, while her left leg should touch the back of the buffalo, the lion mauling the buffalo demon. The various texts differ, mainly with regard to the number of arms and different kinds of weapons that the Goddess should possess. While the texts like *Abhilaṣitārtha Chintāmaṇi*²³, *Matsyapurāṇa*²⁴, *Śilparatna*²⁵ and *Rūpamaṇḍana*²⁶ assign her only ten arms, the *Vishṇudharmottara*²⁷, the *Varāhupurāṇa*²⁸, the *Chandīkalpa*²⁹, and the *Viśvakarma Śilpa Śāstra*³⁰ give her as many as twenty arms. The *Agni purāṇa*³¹ and *Rupāvatāra*³² describe both the ten and twenty armed varieties of the Goddess. The *Vāmana purāṇa*³³, however endows her with only eighteen arms. In *Dēvī Mahātmyam*³⁴ she is called thousand armed. Bana's *Chandī Śataka*³⁵ refers to her *bhujavanaṁ* (forest of arms). As per the sculptural representation of Mahisha mardani in Indian art, they are varied and persisted through the ages, since as early as from 1st century B.C. 1st century A.D.³⁶

11. Pārvati (2.30 x 1.56 x 0.43 Mts.) (Plate VIII)

She is standing in *tribhaṅga* posture. She is two handed. She appears to hold lotus bud in one of the hands. As far as ornamentation is concerned, she is exuberantly ornamented. The *kaṇṭi*, *kaṇṭhābharāṇa*, *vanamāla* and other ornamental decorations are realistically carved. The *aṇṭariya* is secured by means of *mēkhala kalāpa*. On either side of the deity are the standing male figures in *samabhaṅga*. They are having *dhanus* in their hands. While one hand is holding *dhanus*, the other hand is holding the *śara*. This image is also very badly worn out.

12. Annapūrṇa (1.67 x 0.92 x 0.52 Mts.) (Plate IX)

The sculpture of Annapūrṇa is intact. She is sitting in *mahārājaliṅga mudra*. This sculpture is very badly coated with ochre and other colours, as a result of which, the details of the figure are not quite clear. However, the *kirīṭamakūṭa*, *kēyūra*, *prakōṣṭavalaya*, the *mēkhala*, and the *nūpurās* are quite extant. Besides, she is also having *valayaṇṭi māla*. The ear rings are in disc shape, resembling Dhenri of Bengal. There is a *Śrīshachakra*. The anatomical features of the deity are meticulously maintained. It betrays full of life. She is two handed. The left hand is holding *kundika*, perhaps full of *pāyasa* in it, while the right hand is taking out the *pāyasa* from the *kundika*, with the help of ladle or spoon.

In Hindu iconography, the youthful Goddess Annapūrṇa is of red complexion having a round face like the full moon, three eyes and high breasts. In her left hand, she carries a vessel set with rubies, containing honey. In the right hand, she holds spoon set with rubies containing rice. She is adorned with wristlets set with rubies, a *hāra* which rests gracefully upon her chest and many other ornaments. She may have some times as many as four hands. Two of her hands carry *pāśa* and *aṅkuśa* and the other two hands held in *abhaya* and *varada* poses respectively. There should also be the crescent moon adorning the crown on her head.

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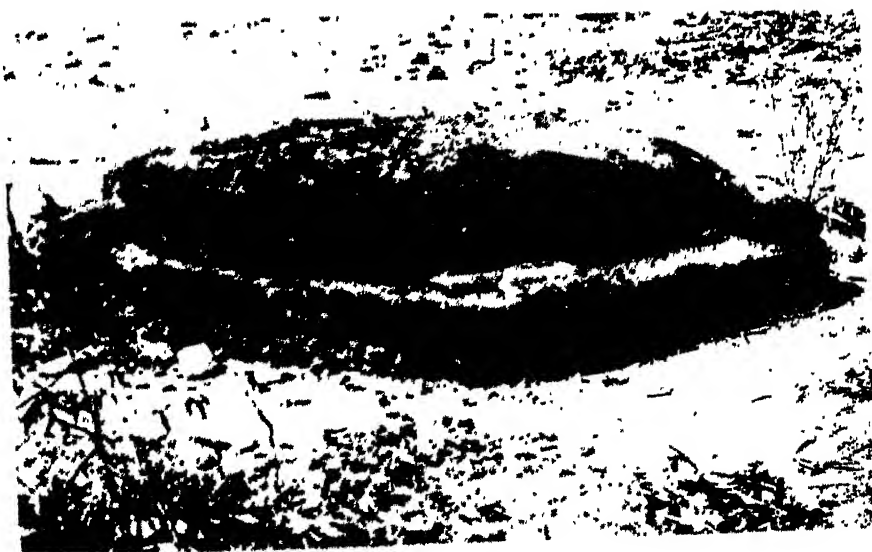
- 1 The author has visited the spot on 4-3-1981 in the company of Sarvashri D Hanumantha Rao, G V Srinivasa Rao, and R Y.Krishna Rao, all of the Archaeological Survey of India to assess the archaeological and iconographic value of the sculptures under reference
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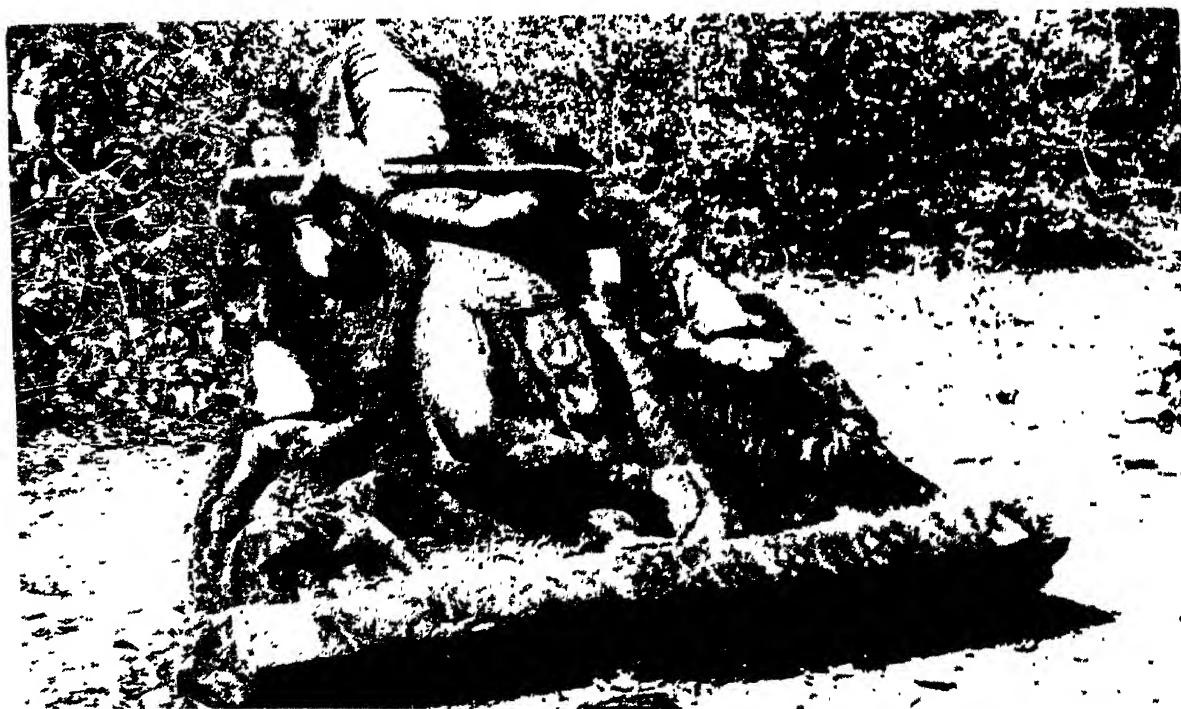
Pl I. Mutilated Narasimha



Pl.II. Kurma



Pl.III. Gautama Buddha



Pl.IV. Venugopala



Pl V. Hanuman



Pl.VI. Kālīya-Krishna



Pl.VII. Bhairava



Pl.VIII. Pārvati



Pl.IX. Annapūrṇa

ICONOGRAPHY OF BRAHMA

—Dr. K. Padmanabha

Although both in the later *Vedic* and *Purāṇic* mythologies, Brahmā is represented as a *Creator*, the latter including him in the Brāhmanical trinity along with the preserver Viṣṇu and the destroyer Śiva, he suffers from the burden of a tragic tale of the waning glory, in sharp contrast to the other two members of the trinity, who gradually rose to the status of cult-deity.

In the Buddhist art of Gandhara, Brahmā appears in the birth-scenes of the Buddha¹, or as a minor divinity attending on him². He is always depicted in the attire of a Brāhmaṇa with one face and two arms. Sometimes, he has a beard and often he holds a water vessel.

A fragmentary image of the Kushāna period in the Mathura Museum (No. 2134) carved in alto-relievo, shows a divinity with three faces, all of which have matted locks, tied in a knot and a beard. A superimposed bust rises at the back of the central face. The image may be identified as Brahma³. In the Gupta period, the deity is represented by a single image in the Mathura Museum⁴ which shows a pot bellied three-faced figure — the fourth face, presumably at the back was not shown in alto-relievo. Thus, with the development of the refined aesthetic standard, the gruesome device of representing the super-imposed face was discarded. The faces have matted locks but the central face has also a beard in addition. The right hand of the deity is raised in *abhaya mudra* and the left is broken. He wears a *dhōṭi*, tied at the waist by a girdle. The image is a 'rare' specimen⁵, since it was not usual to represent Brahmā independently; he generally figures as an accessory figure. Brahmā appears in a few reliefs of the Deogarh temple, where, he is three-faced and seated on a lotus. He has only two hands, the right being held in the *abhaya mudra* and the left holding a water-vessel⁶. A figure of Brahmā is contained in a *chaitya* window at the Śiva temple at Bhumara, where he is seated on a lotus. The four-faced deity is shown with four-arms, two of which are broken. Of the remaining two, the right holds a lotus and the left a staff⁷. A three-faced figure of Brahmā appears in a Mathura relief as anointing Kārttikeya⁸.

The iconographic features of Brahma are described in such early texts as *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and *Vishṇudharmottara*. From the former, we learn that temples of Brahma were constructed in the Gupta period⁹. According to this text the four-faced deity should be seated on a lotus and carry a *Kamāṇḍalu*¹⁰. However, the *Vishṇudharmottara* gives two different descriptions of his image. In the first, he is said to have four faces, four hands and matted locks. He wears the skin of black antelope and sits in a chariot drawn by seven swans. Elsewhere the deity is required to be seated on a lotus with Savitri on his left lap¹¹. But the account of the *Vishṇudharmottara* is not relevant in the present context since the Mathura image does not conform to any of its injunctions.

For his four faces, Brahma is often called Chaturmukha, Chaturmūṣi, Chaturvakra and Sarvatomukha¹³. The esoteric meaning of the four faces of the deity is unfolded in the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. According to this work, they stand for the four Vedas, the eastern for the *R̥gveda*, the southern for the *Yajurveda*, the western for the *Sāmaveda* and the northern for the *Atharvaveda*¹⁴. The water-vessel in his hand represents the universe comprising insentient and sentient beings¹⁵. The beard is probably a status symbol for the age-old father-figure - the Universal *Pitamaha*.

The concept of Brahma as Creator is, at least as old as the Vedic period¹⁶. The Creator is called by different names in the Vedic literature such as Viśvakarman, Brahmanaspati, Hiraṇyagarbha, Prajāpati, Brahma and Brahṁā¹⁷. He is responsible for the creation of the Universe and is the cause of all beings and objects¹⁸.

He enjoys important position in the early sections of the epics in as much as he was 'regarded as the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer', but it was lost in the later sections¹⁹. It appears that, the chief cause of decline in his status was the growing cults of Viṣṇu and Śiva who had become supreme gods performing the acts of creation, preservation and destruction by themselves. In the *Smārta* tradition, however, Brahma could retain the job of the Creator, but in other traditions he could have only an unpretentious minor niche.

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A UNIQUE SCULPTURE OF VARĀHA

—P.Vengal Reddy

In recent Archaeological explorations, a unique stone sculpture of Varāha has been discovered at Pangal, a suburban village of Nalgonda, in Andhra Pradesh. Pangal was the capital city of Telugu Cholas of Kāñḍūru during 11th-12th centuries A.D. and played a prominent role during the times of Kakatiyas and their successors. In and around Pangal, are scattered a good number of local sculptures, besides temple complexes known as Pachchala Sōmēśwara and Chaya Sōmēśwara built by the Kāñḍūru Chōlās and Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa respectively

The sculpture of Varaha under study was noticed in the fields to the west of Pangal town, where, ruins of a Varahagiri temple belonging to the Kākatiya period were found. The sculpture which measures 0.96 x 0.46 x 0.36 mts., was carved out of black granite stone with high polish. It is in standing position with proportionate anatomical features. Small round eyes with eye brows and small ears are the prominent features of the face, where as the snout is missing. The body of the sculpture is carved in round shape with a small tail. The legs are mutilated. Except for a beaded rope tied to the neck, the sculpture is devoid of any ornamentation. A small illegible inscription is also found on the stomach of this sculpture. In this context it may be mentioned that a big sculpture of rat, alongwith a life sized Gaṇēsa image of Kakatiya period, were also discovered in the fields of Pangal, which were shifted to the local museum. The treatment of physiognomy of Varaha bears close resemblance to the rat just mentioned above. Pangal is the only place which reported such unique zoomorphic sculptures, of Varaha and rat as no other examples of this kind are reported so far elsewhere in Andhra Pradesh.

In India, the episode of rescuing the earth goddess by Varāha from the ocean, represented in the theranthropic and hybrid forms of a human, having a boar head in various

forms viz., Ādivarāha, Bhūvarāha, Yajñavarāha, Pralāyavarāha and Mahāvarāha in their graphic formulae, is mentioned in various *Purāṇas* viz., *Śilpa* and *Āgama* texts, right from 6th century A.D. onwards¹ The carving of the image of Varāha in exclusive boar form is recommended by an early medieval text i.e. *Vishṇudharmōttara*² and a late medieval *Śilpa* text called *Śilparatna*³

Varāhāvatāra often finds mention in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas, Kākatiyas and Vijayanagara rulers⁴, while describing and eulogising the valour of the kings and compared to the great incarnation of Vishṇu. It also occurs as royal insignia on several coins and seals⁵ The boar as an incarnation of Vishṇu is also carved in the *Daśavatara* panels, on the *Prabhāmaṇḍala* of *Vaiṣṇavite* sculptures of Chālūkyas, Kākatiya and Vijayanagara periods. This practice of carving Varāha as incarnation of Vishṇu in animal form can be traced to the Gupta period. A standing colossal Varāha figure with its snout upraised, is known from Eran⁶, followed by another such figure of the same period, decorated with gods and saints found at Apsad⁷ in Bihar. Sculptures of Varāha carved in human form are also known from Dudhi⁸, Vihara⁹, Khajuraho¹⁰, Jhalawal¹¹ and Nagapur¹² all datable between 8th and 10th centuries A.D.

In Āndhradēśa, sculptures of Varāha find place in the *Dasavatara* panels in zoomorphic form since Chālūkyan period¹³ Then come the *Daśavatāra* panels carved on the ceilings of the Sun temple and Papanasi group of temples at Alampur¹⁴ built by the Chalukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The *adhiṣṭāna* of the Bhimēśvara temple at Vemulavāḍa built by the Vemulavāḍa Chālūkyas (8th-9th C.A.D.) was decorated with *Daśavatāra* figures among which Varāha is prominently carved¹⁵ However, the sculptures of *Matsya* and *Kirma* in animal form occur at Kālēśvaram¹⁶ and Śrīkūrmam as *avatāras* of Vishṇu. The main temple of Sirīnhāchalam is dedicated to Lord Vishṇu in Varāha¹⁷ form and hence named as Varāha Lakṣmi Narasīṃha. The niches in the walls of the temple contain sculptures of *Kevalavarāha*, and Bhūvarāha. In the first example, the human body has a boar head with four hands, standing in *Alidhāsana*.

The Bhūvarāha sculpture is in sitting posture with Bhudevi seated on his left lap. The boar face of the god is slightly turned towards left. He has four hands.

During the Kakatiya period as Saivism became predominant, we do not come across many such sculptures of Varaha carved independently. However, the *Prabhāvalis* of Vishṇu images are invariably decorated with miniature forms of Varaha carved in both human and animal forms.²⁰

To conclude, it can be said that the sculpture of Varāha is generally carved along with other *avatāras* of Lord Viṣṇu. This sculpture of Varāha in the round, occurs for the first time, carved probably during the Kakatiya times, i.e., during 11th-12th centuries A.D. Perhaps, the sculptors might have drawn inspiration from other examples like the rat sculpture at the same place and the *Matrya* found at Kapileswaram, of the same period. Thus from all aspects, this sculpture of Varaha in the round is unique in size, treatment and ornamentation, delineating delicate craftsmanship of the artists of the medieval period in Āndhra dēśa.

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Varaha - Pangal

GUILDS OF ARCHITECTS AND SCULPTORS IN ĀNDHRA

—E. Sivanagi Reddy

Śilpis or architects who belonged to a general class of artisans in the social hierarchy, were responsible for sculpting idols and constructing religious edifices in early Āndhradēśa. The term *śilpa*¹ in architectural parlance has a wider connotation, which includes various crafts, skills and occupations. The earliest reference to the term *śilpa* occurs in the *Saṃhitas*² and *Brāhmaṇas*³. *Rigveda*⁴ mentions *takshaka* (carver), *rathakāra* (chariot maker) and *karmāra* (blacksmith). In course of time, the *takshakas* transformed their techniques and helped in the growth of art activity, when stone came into use during the early historical times. *Arthaśāstra* mentions various types of artisans engaged in building activity during the Mauryan period. For instance, *Vardhaki* meaning 'Chief Architect' is mentioned in the same text⁵. In the early epigraphs, *Śilpa* was mentioned as *Śīlākarmānta* or *Śālakarma*⁶ and *Śilpis* as *rūpakāra*, *śālavadhaki*, *āvesanin* and *rūpadakṣa*⁷.

In Āndhradēśa, the earliest *śilpa* activity is found in the statue menhirs, and anthropomorphic figures of the megalithic period. The statue menhirs⁸ representing male and female figures were carved and erected in front of the dolmens, as noticed in Warangal and Khammam Districts. Anthropomorphic figures⁹ with round head and curved outward shoulders were found in Chittoor and Anantapur Districts. These evidences prove beyond doubt that the practice of sculpting human figures out of stone, began during the late phase of protohistoric Āndhra.

There are copious references to sculptors and architects in the inscriptions of early Āndhradēśa. An inscription at Nagarjunakonda¹⁰ mentions '*Śīlavaddhakis*'- stone workers while the Jaggayyapeta¹¹ inscription mentions an *āvesanin*- a foreman of sculptors. A label inscription reading *tuluchuvānru*¹² meaning rock carver, scooper, engraver or quarryman has come to light from Keesaragutta, near Hyderabad datable to 4th-5th centuries A.D. From 7th century A.D.

onwards, structural temples began to be constructed on a large scale. Architects during this period seem to have had their professional guilds. Inscriptions from the Palnadu area of Guntur District inform us about a famous line of architects who built some temples in the area. They were first mentioned in an inscription from Ayyangaripalem datable to 7th century A.D. It states that the temple of Jalapēśa was built by one Kalgarābharaṇacharya¹³, considered as an ornament of the stone workers and was an expert and master sculptor at Jalapeśwarapuram, a centre of learning. A good number of inscriptions datable to the period between 7th and 10th centuries A.D. provide many names of sculptors and architects among which are several label inscriptions reading 'Śrī Utpattipidugu'¹⁴ from various places. By the side of these labels is a line drawing of an instrument whose tip is conical, carved on a disc, resembling a battle-axe. The disc is finally fixed to a rod, which, in turn has a handle fixed to fist, to operate the instrument on a rock or stone. Recently, one more such label was discovered from a natural cave at Regonda in Warangal District¹⁵. Literally the term *Pidugu* means thunderbolt, and *Utpatti* - creation, caused by Śrī - a honorific or the head of the sculptors. Mukundarao¹⁶ opines that the instrument accompanied by the labels, might be a sign manual of the office or the guild of Sculptors or Architects.

Medieval inscriptions of Āndhradēśa also provide information on the guilds of architects and sculptors, called *Pañchānamvāru*¹⁷, which stands for the artisan class viz., Brazier, Blacksmith, Carpenter, Goldsmith and Stone Carvers, whose origin was traced to the legendary Viśvakarma. In Karnataka, these five artisans are known as *Panchala*¹⁸. Inscriptions from Bhimavaram,¹⁹ Panchadharla, Simhachalam,²¹ Sri Kurman,²² and Amaravati refer to *Pañchāhanam vāru* or *Pañchānam vāru*, *Pañchāli*, *Pañcharu* and *Panchadi*. The Amaravati inscription informs us that, the sculptors' community had its own assembly²⁴. A Bhimavaram inscription mentions that one Kāśe Sūrāchāry belonged to *Panchanam vāru*, who constructed

the local temple. The above references lead us to believe that *Pañchanām vāru* was a guild of artisans comprising of five classes, in which sculptors and architects find place.

It is interesting to find that, for the first time, a term '*Saraswatīgana*' referring probably to a guild or group of architects/sculptors, in an epigraph inscribed on a pillar, in the *maṇḍapa* of Chālukya Bhimavaram temple in West Godavari District²⁵. In this eulogical inscription datable to 1097 A.D., two *Silpis* viz., Viddhachāry and his brother Mallāchāry, are described as 'bees at the lotus feet of *Saraswatī gana* (cf. *Saraswatīganaṇapādapaṇkaja bhramara*) along with other titles such as *Birudamaṇḍapana*, *Birudamaṇi Nirghāta* and *Saraswatī gana manōraṇjana* i.e., pleaser of the hearts of the *Saraswatīgana*. So far, this is the only inscription that mentions the guild of sculptors called *Saraswatīgana*. Many scholars²⁶ who worked on the guilds of Āndhradēsa do not mention this. A similar reference is however noticed from the contiguous region of Karnataka. The late Chālukya and Hōyasāla records mention the term *Saraswatīganaḍāsa*, a guild of the servants of Goddess *Saraswatī*. S.Settar opines that *Saraswatīganaḍāsa* seems to have confined its activity to the later Chālukyan area. Another inscription which provides similar reference to *Saraswatī gana* comes from Posavur which describes Padmōja, a Chālukyan artist as a bee at the lotus feet of the *Saraswatī gana*.(cf. *Saraswatīgana Pādapankaja bhramara*). From this, it can be said that the *Saraswatīgana* of Karnataka might have had its branch at Bhimavaram looking after the construction of temples or the persons mentioned in the Bhimavaram inscription might have migrated from Karnataka or affiliated to the Karnataka office or an independent association of architects and sculptors who had a separate office at Bhimavaram. The honorific titles of Viddāchāry and Mallāchāry mentioned above and the suffix *āchāry* also leads us to conclude that Bhimavaram had an office of artists of high order particularly experts in temple building activity in medieval Āndhradēsa.

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 2. ākaja bhramara birudaśikhamaṇi Biruda Viddiyama
 3. ma birudamaṇidarpaṇa biruda nirghaṭa Saraswa
 4. thī gaṇa munoraṇjana Śrīmatu Viddachari praśasti
 5. Viddachari tammunḍu Mallachari (Ma) ttī trinētruṇḍu
 6. Pra (gma) dabhirudagaḷa gruhasthāmba bhirudanigra
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AGRARIAN RELATIONS IN ĀNDHRA DURING MEDIEVAL PERIOD

—Dr.V.Yasoda Devi

Introduction

Agriculture had been the principal occupation of the bulk of the population in Āndhra during the ancient as well as medieval periods. It continues to be so in the modern age, though to a lesser degree, due to the application of new appliances at every phase of cultivation. Āndhradēsa in the medieval period was under the enlightened rule of the Kākātīyas, the Reddis and the Rayas. Besides, the Eastern Chalukyas and the Eastern Gangas, and several subsidiary dynasties. Many of these dynasties, major or minor, evinced keen interest in the well being of their subjects as seen from the hundreds of inscriptions in Āndhradēsa. For instance, the Reddis assumed the titles *Prajāparipālanaabharata*, and *Prajāparipālanachatura* in their inscriptions.¹

These several inscriptions, both copper plate grants as well as stone epigraphs, show how the Kākātīyas and the Reddis were devoted to the implementation of the injunctions of Hemadrī, Darśanaka. How the Reddis, by overthrowing the Muslim rule in Āndhradēsa, restored the Brahman agrahāras to their original owners, as under the Kākātīyas and rehabilitated hitherto deserted villages. Their grant of many fresh agrahāras entitled the Reddis to the epithet *Nissimabharataparadama*² in their *prastāva* in inscriptions. The rulers took pride in stating that they enjoyed their kingdom the residue left over, after the allotment of lands to temples and Brāhmins.³ Inscriptions show how the rulers, members of ruling families, nobles, affluent individuals, merchant guilds and soldiers, by their grants of lands to temples and Brāhmins, helped the formation of agrahāras and villages, laying of gardens and parks and construction of irrigational works, such as tanks, canals, wells etc., and promoted agriculture. Tillers of the soil constituted the real wealth and man power of the country.

Agrarian Relations in Āndhra - The agrarian relations fall under the following heads namely (a) Relationship between the ruler and the ruled (b) land grants for (1) the promotion of scholarship in its various disciplines and (2) religious institutions with their complexes (c) gradation of land on the basis of fertility (d) variation of crops raised in cultivable land (e) plantation of gardens of flowers, fruits etc., (f) land surveys conducted and land measures used for fixation of revenue (g) land tenures and taxes on land (h) importance of irrigation and excavating of tanks, wells, canals, and modes of raising water to fields, and (i) provision for repair of irrigational works when they fell out of use.

(a) Relationship between a ruler and the ruled : All land belonged to the State and the ruler had rights to grant lands to individuals for individual ownership or common or joint ownership⁴ and to temples and *mathas*, for cultivation and irrigational purposes. When the ruler wanted to donate the lands owned by individuals to temples, he purchased from them and donated them. For example, Kāṭayavēma purchased Taḍakaluru and granted it as Gōpavaram to God Gōpīnatha⁵. The donees, including the Brahmins and the temples, both were exempt from all kinds of taxes but had to stick to the stipulations of the donated lands regarding the discharge of their duties and services. They had to undergo serious punishments in case of lapses.

(b) Land grants : Land grants to Brahmins and temples were known as *Brahmadāyās* and *Dēvadāyās* in early period and *agrahāras* and *Devakshetras* or *Devabhogas* in medieval period. The lands granted as some *agrahāras*, with villages as *grama-grasa* grants⁶, free from all taxes and with eight rights of enjoyment, were meant for the promotion of learning in different disciplines as Vēdic lore and astrology, astronomy, poetry, medicine etc. The lands donated to temples and *mathas*, *dharmaśattras* and *vāriśattras* aimed at promoting religion and charity. All these different types of land grants, were, no doubt, an incentive for intensive and extensive agriculture and horticulture by raising a large variety of crops and growing many

kinds of gardens. The exemption of temple lands from taxation⁷ was a further concession to the tenants to be more devoted in their task of cultivation.

(c) Gradation of land on the basis of fertility and yield and the number of crops raised in a year. Land was divided into various grades for purposes of assessment and fixation of revenue to the State. The broad and widely prevalent divisions of land were (a) arable or cultivable land and (b) uncultivable land. The arable lands were sorted out into wet lands and dry lands⁸. The terms used in inscriptions for wet lands are *nīrunēla*, *varibhūmi*, *maḍikuṇṭalu*, *kālavapolamu*, *ūḍipubhūmi*, *jalakshētra*, *ṣauka bhūmi*, *kīlparṇu* of *śelakaṁ* (land) etc., whereas dry lands are mentioned as *koru*, *valipolamu*, *Rēvaḍibhūmi*, *garuvu bhūmi*, *mēlparṇu* of *śelakaṁ* land, *meṭṭa nēla*, *kāru* (gardens) etc. The wet lands were horizontally divided into (a) high level⁹ (b) medium and (c) low level fields and further into (1) good soil (2) medium soil¹⁰ and (3) low soil lands. The uncultivable lands fell into two divisions namely pasture lands and waste lands.

(d) Variety of crops raised in cultivable lands :- Paddy, with a variety of grains and sugar-cane were the main wet crops. Chaṇḍavōlu and Talagaḍaḍivi had abundant wet lands, suited for the cultivation of wet crops. Guḍimeṭṭa produced blackish red sugarcane, besides paddy¹¹. In Nellore, well known for its special variety of paddy, were raised two to three crops in a year and one such crop is mentioned as hot weather crop in inscriptions¹². Dry crops were raised in Palnāḍ and Māreḷḷasīma. The fourteen kinds of grains grown in Māreḷḷasīma were millets, horsegram, sajjalu, red gram, arigalu, green gram, jonnalu, castor oil seeds, black gram, Rāḡulu, chōḷḷu, bobbarlu (black species of pulses), cotton, and chaṇḍalu (pulses from leguminous plant)¹³. Śrīnātha mentions the dry crops grown in Palnāḍ in his *chātu* verses¹⁴. In the Nellore region gingelly, flex and kārujonna (a variety of maize) were raised in dry lands¹⁵.

(e) Plantation of gardens of flowers, fruits etc. :- Like gift of land and building of temple, laying a park or garden was considered as one among the *Saptasāntānas*¹⁶, that is,

the seven meritorious acts of an individual. So, from the king to the servant, all classes of men vied with one another, singly or collectively, to raise and maintain gardens and parks and donate them to temples, to serve their various needs and for public utilities¹⁷

(1) Flower gardens – Flower gardens for supply of flowers and flower garlands to temples and provision for their maintenance by land grants, find frequent mention in inscriptions of every region in Āndhradēśa. They are mentioned as *Brindavanam*, *Br̥ndavanam̐tōṭa* in inscriptions of Sarpavaram, Simhachalam, Pithapuram etc., and *Pushpalatota*, *Putota* and *Pushpavanam̐* in records from Draksharama, Srisailam, Bhimavaram etc. At Chepalapalle, Rājamallayādevarāya raised a flower garden called Rājamalla after him in a plot of one hundred *kuli* of land¹⁸. Several instances of allotment of sites to individuals, for raising flower gardens are known from inscriptions.

(2) Fruit Gardens :- Gardens of fruits also find mention in inscriptions, though not so frequently as the gardens of flowers. Common gardens with flowers and fruits, as well as other trees are also known from inscriptions¹⁹. Mostly all these gardens, large and small, were donated to temples. While at Śrīsailam and Pithāpuram were gardens of fruits, at Talagadādvī, fruit trees were together with trees of flowers. Mango gardens and mango tope were in abundance at Pañchadhārāla²⁰, Konidena, Nellore and Chepalapalle. Gardens of plantain, banana, rose-apple along with mango trees at Pañchadhārāla and of jackfruit in Gudimetṭa are mentioned in inscriptions²¹. At Chēpalapalle, mango tope extended over 200 *kuli* of land, and jack fruit tope in a land of 20 *kuli*.

(3) Arecanut, Betel, coconut gardens etc : Many gardens of arecanut, betel leaves, coconut and palmyra, with the extent of area and the number of trees specified, find mention in inscriptions. At Anantārāma in the vicinity of Drākshārāma, Velanāṭichoda II purchased a site for planting one hundred arecanut trees; his minister Kottaruvu Errama made a gift of land-site (*patta*) - for laying a garden of 2000 arecanut trees, and a setti provided for a garden of 1500

arecanut trees, both at Anantārāma. Arecapalm trees figure in the gardens at Gudimetta. Betel gardens were in abundance in the area about Drākshārāma. A plantation of 460,000 coconut trees is mentioned in a record from Pithapuram. Sūrapareddi's garden of one thousand coconut trees was at Anantarama. Kottaruvu Errama's garden of coconut trees was at Bāpatla. Coconut palms flourished in the fertile gardens at Pañchadhārāla. A palmyra grove at Siripuram is mentioned in a record²³ of Velanati Chōḍa II.

(f) Land surveys and land measures : Land was the primary source of revenue to the State and hence for its settlement, periodical surveys were held from time to time. These were carried on in the reign of Kulottunga I of the Chālukya-Chōlas and Ganapatidēva and Pratāparudra of the Kakatiyas, and subsequently under the Reddis. When Āmbadēva was ruling as a nominal feudatory of Pratāparudra, he ordered for a land survey of Pottapinādu which was carried on by Peddinayaka²⁴. Accordingly, lands were measured and classified into different categories, on the basis of fertility. The measurement of land was done with a pole of twelve fathoms long. Taxes were duly levied and collected.

Land was surveyed and revenue settlement was made in five villages in Ammanabrolusina in Śrīśailabhūmi during the reign of Prōlayavēma Reddi. In this instance the land was measured by a pole of sixteen fathoms²⁴. On pasture lands, grazing tax called *pullaḥ* was collected by the Telugu-Chōlas of Nellore, and subsequently by the Reddis. The land measures, viz *tumu*, *putti*, *marturu* and *nivartana* in vogue during the Kākatiyan period²⁵, were continued by the Reddis. Wet lands were measured by *Tūmu*, and the dry lands by *putti*²⁶, the tax on the former was *koru*, while the tax on the latter was *puttipahinḍi*, 1/4th and 1/5th of both the lands was collected as revenue and also 1/16 of the produce of the remaining 3/4th land and 1/10th of the produce of other villages. The village staff collected the land tax and payment was made either in kind or cash. A share of the produce of land constituted the payment in kind, the payment in cash is supported by the references to treasuries - central,

provincial and local in inscriptions. A variety of land measures occur in records *kunta* or *guṇṭa* was common in Rayalasīma. Among *daśaka*²⁷, *kuchchela*, *nibaṇḍha*, *khari*, *drōṇa*, *gōcharma*, *gorru*, *kuli* and *marturu*, *kuchchela* was common in circars, and *drōṇa*²⁸ in Kalinga Āndhra.

(g) Land tenures :— A few types of land tenure prevalent in medieval period, are indicated in inscriptions (1) *Pannasa*: The term *pannasapahūṇḍi* is used along with *siddhāyamu*, that is, *suvarṇādāyamu* which means income in gold. It suggests that it refers to a separate category of income, not included in the general category of *siddhādayamu*, pertinent to a certain kind of land tenure. Earlier scholars had mistaken it for a unit of measurement while others differed from them²⁹. (2) *Prabhumānyamu* : This term is applied to the land granted by the State for the personal requirements of a subordinate ruler. The permanent and hereditary nature of this kind of tenure is clear from the Annamasamudraṁ record, which ordains that the lease was to continue, irrespective of the vicissitudes of season, acts of kings and God and excess of rain and drought³⁰. (3) The *Nāyaṅkara* system: This system was pseudo feudalistic in nature by which the tenant receiving land from the king was bound to serve him with a specified quota of army in times of war. The soldiers and servants of the king were paid their salaries in the form of lands i.e. salary lands³¹.

(h) Irrigation :— Irrigation always received the attention of the State for the progress of agriculture. It has also religious sanctity so much so that officials as well as private individuals were competing with one another in their anxiety to excavate tanks, construct channels, dig wells and ponds, raise reservoirs, springs, lakes and sluices etc. Tank digging was considered as one among the *saptasāntānas*, that is, the seven kinds of offspring, to be achieved by an individual. A few *ślōkas* from *Mahābhārata* cited at the close of an inscription³² dealing with the building and dedication of the tank *Sāntānasāgara*, explain the merit accrued by digging tanks and the motive behind tank building. They exhort that the deities, fathers, angels, snakes, demons and spirits live in water; and animals, birds, and human beings drink water from the

tanks and so the builders acquire merit equal to that of performing *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, at which their fathers and grandfathers rejoiced. So, impelled by sheer motives of humanitarianism besides religious motives, individuals constructed tanks near temples and in villages. In tank building, twelve constituents and six faults were to be observed, according to *śāstras*, as described in the Porumamilla inscription (A.D. 1369) of Bhāskara Bhavadūra³³. Pōrumāmilla Tank was celebrated for its supply of water to fields in the empire of Vijayanagar.

Tanks were excavated, from which water was diverted to fields, by digging channels or canals. For example, water was diverted from Peddacheruvu and Jaganobbagaṇḍa channel to Saṁtānasāgaram tank³⁴. At Talagaḍadivi, the water from the tanks in the vicinity is said to have inundated the paddy and sugar cane fields. Apportionment of water was done to facilitate equal distribution of water to fields. With the rivers Gōḍāvarī, Kṛishna and Penna and their tributaries, tanks, artificial lakes, channels, and huge wells, there was no water problem in the coastal region, except in Palnāḍ and Koṇḍavīḍu areas. A common saying in Telugu implies that long ropes were needed for drawing water from wells in Koṇḍavīḍu; and the ropes with double that length had to be used to draw water from the wells in Palnāḍ³⁵.

There were huge tanks on the top of the hill of Koṇḍavīḍu, one leading to another, so that when the first tank was full, the second received its supply and similarly the third tank³⁶. This system of irrigation during the time of Redḍis is similar to the irrigational system of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar. Some tanks mentioned in inscriptions are – (1) the tank at Vēmavaram³⁷ which supplied water to the paddy fields (2) Komaragirisamudraṁ at Muṇḍalūr³⁸ (3) Saṁtānasāgaram³⁹ at Phiraṅḡlipuram (4) Gōvardhanasamudraṁ at Appāpuram, meant for the satisfaction of 84 lakhs of lives, including birds, cattle and humanbeings⁴⁰, (5) Chōḍasamudram and Vēmasamudram at Mollēru⁴¹ (6) Tank at Baddēpūḍi (7) Tanks at Liṅgamguṇṭa (8) Prōlasamudraṁ (9) Three tanks at Chaṇḍi (10) Tanks on Malyādri (11) Tank near Bhīmunikolanu (12) Chōḍasamudram at Talagaḍadivi (13) Bhīmasamudram at Vadlakurru (14) huge tank of

Drōṇasamudraṁ at Nārṇepāḍu (15) Tank at Chevaram (16) Two tanks at Marripūdi (17) Brahmasamudram at Timmāpuram (18) many tanks at Sattenapalle (19) Bassamudram near Būdapūr⁴² (20) Ganapasamudram and Kuppasamudram (21) Mahadēvitataka at Mācherla (22) Chāgipōtasamudram at Guḍimetṭa⁴³ (23) Mallasamudram and Gaṇḍasamudram at Nadindla⁴⁴ (24) Rompicheruvu alias Pankatātākapura at Rompicherla⁴⁵ (25) Tamaracheruvu at Pedaganjām⁴⁶ (26) Rudrasamudraṁ and Rattasamudraṁ at Nudurupāḍu (27) Virasagaraṁ near Panchadhāra (28) Bhīmasamudraṁ at Niḍadavōle (29) Viddarājacheruvu at Guntur (30) Tank of Māṇkāḍitya and Tank of low caste people near Jayantanārāyaṇapura *agrahara*⁴⁸ (31) Kōḍḍipaticheruvu at Jālūr (32) Tank near Āṇkēpalle built and constructed by Queen Tippali Dēvi (33) Gaṅgasamudraṁ at Siddhāpuraṁ (34) Siddhasamudraṁ at Śrisaṇḍam⁴⁹ (35) Ambasamudraṁ at Odili and Ūtukūru (36) At Kanuparti, Ammapūḍicheruvu, Yēkarājacheruvu and Pulicheruvu (37) Tank at Chīlamakūru (38) Svarṇālacheruvu and Tāmaramaḍuḡu at Nellore (39) Rācheruvu and Vēlpulacheruvu at Kāvali (40) Chīnta cheruvu and Elamaṇchiguṇṭa at Timmasamudraṁ (41) Taṇḍe Tank at Ayyavāripalle (42) Dīvyārēri alias Kamalāmahādēviputteri at Chēpalapalle⁵⁰ (43) Toṇḍaimān tank (44) a huge tank at Koṇḍapalle etc.

Wells were dug for every house in Addanki and Koṇḍavidu, under the rule of Prōlayavēma. At Kaṇḍukūr, a fresh water well with stone revetment and a stepped well at Chuṇḍi were built by Minister Kommana⁵¹. In Koṇḍavidu were three wells called Lankalabāvi, Kanyakala Bāvi, and Jaddigala Bāvi⁵². Nellore had fourteen wells including Vemālasettibāvi or Vēmālanūyi on the south⁵³.

References to ponds are fewer than wells in inscriptions. Many public ponds or baths were constructed during the reign of Kumāragiri, at Koṇḍavidu and other places. A pond figures in the Nudurupadu inscription. A pond at Koṇḍena⁵⁴ was dug by a minister. Possibly the several *guṇṭas* figuring in records are ponds, as terms like *samudraṁ* and *tataka* apply to tanks. Some of the channels figuring in the records are (1) Jaganobbagaṇḍa channel, as a

feeder to Santanasagara, named after a title of Rachavema. (2) channels from the rivulets Pāteru and Varenu both tributaries of the Maneru, flowing into the ~~Krishna~~^{Krishna}⁵⁵ (3) a canal from the River Krishna r. compared with Kaveri⁵⁶ (4) Vamsadhāra channel at Kollipāka⁵⁷ (5) Nandivarma channel to Pōdasamudram tank (6) Indurū channel at Pentrāla (7) Rāyasahasramalla channel named after a title of Am̐badeva, by Peddinayaka at Lēpāka and Gāndapeṇḍāra channel at Taḍapaka⁵⁸ Kātamareḍḍi of Prōli had a role in constructing the former channel from Antargaṇḍa and the latter at Taḍapaka (8) Many channels at Prōli were the work of Kātama Reddi⁵⁹ (9) At Nellore were many canals dug from Pennār and (10) at Chēpalapalle, a big channel named after Kamalanābadevi was built

A few reservoirs are mentioned in inscriptions (1) the reservoir near Kāndukūr was the work of the minister Kommarā⁶⁰ (2) reservoir on the hill at Bellamkōṇḍa and (3) an artificial reservoir half way up the hill to Vinukōṇḍa⁶¹

Like reservoirs, some springs natural and artificial, are mentioned as supplying water to reservoirs. For example on the top of the Kōṇḍaviḍu hill are many springs, a perennial spring on the top of Bellamkōṇḍa, and another at Vinukōṇḍa⁶².

As regards lakes, Kolleru was the largest fresh water lake in the world⁶³ There was a huge artificial lake at Dharanukōṭa

Also sluices to tanks for supply of water to lands, find mention in inscriptions. They are (1) a sluice in the field near Piṭhāpur (2) a sluice to the Pōdasamudram tank by Nandivarma and (3) a sluice to the tank at Tōṇḍamanāḍ by Tikkyadēva⁶⁴.

(i) Methods of irrigation, provision for repair of irrigational works and water rates — Picota was used for raising water for agriculture. The remains of picota at Kōṇḍaviḍu are reminiscent of this method of irrigation⁶⁵. There are inscriptional references to the construction of bunds and embankments to tanks and repairs to them. For instance, the bund across the

Bhōgavati stream on the north-western side of the Mallikājuna temple at Sṛīśallam was reconstructed and gifted with the tank, to the God for raising flower garden⁶⁶. Many embankments were built by Kolanu Kāṭamanāyaka, and embankments to Komarēṇu, a local stream by the Chālūkyas of Pithāpur. The *Matsya* records mention embankments to the tank of Māṅkāditya and tank of low caste people. When the tank at Ūṭukūru, built by the Reddis of Odumūr became dilapidated, it was repaired by Aṁbadēva and named as Aṁbasamudraṁ after him⁶⁷. The prevalence of water rate for fields is clear from the survival of the tradition that at Koṇḍapalle tank⁶⁸, whenever the neighbouring villagers took water from it for their fields, they used to drop a coin into it as payment.

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IRON SMELTING CENTRE OF LATE MEDIEVAL TIMES AT KONASAMUDRAM, NIZAMABAD DIST.

—D.L.N.Sastry

Konasamudram a serene and isolated village is situated in the midst of a picturesque valley, envelopped by a chain of hills all round and a thick forest. It is 20 kms south of Kammarapalli, a Mandal headquarters on the high way that connects Jagityal and Armour. It is approachable by bus either from Armour or Kammarapalli.

The valley, where the village of the late medieval times is situated, is 1 to half sq.km in extent. Its gradient is from west to east and north to south. The elevated portion of the valley is confined to north and west, while the low lying area with a large tank on the north-east extends towards east and south. The rich soil-cover in the low lying area fed by tank waters facilitates crop patterns such as rice and pulses to grow, while the upland area is being cultivated with millet, jowar, turmeric etc. The hills all round bearing local names viz. Urugutta(the north west, north and north eastern one), Porugutta and Balapalagutta(the western side ones), Konlamalagutta(the southern one) and Legalagutta(on the western one) and a thick forest cover with wild life not only naturally fortifies the village but also provided ample and varied resources. The house types, cultures and traditions of the folk are akin to adjacent Maharashtra State. The nearby present day towns, just mentioned are as much connected with bus facility to Bombay city as to Hyderabad. The rocks of the hills provide ample building material. Balapalagutta hill provides ample sheet rock and slabs for writing material. Potugutta and the adjacent hill appear to have iron content in the rock. The common floral species of the forest here are Teak, Voeghsa, Maddi, Veepa, Tumma and a particular plant with abundant leaf content. Availability of the latter plant-leaf in plenty, made the locals develop a cottage cigar leaf cover(beedi leaf) industry.

extends further east. The platform, in red burnt earth, is confined to southern portion of the trench and it is 90 cm. wide and 4 m. long. On the northern side of the platform just referred to, is located a pit with a slag deposit on the north-western portion of the trench. A charcoal pit with a diameter of 50 cms. and a depth of 70 cms. is located in the northern portion of the trench. Nearby is an open stone built hearth, as shown in the plan. The soot deposit, charcoal deposit and iron slags, crucibles etc. are collected for laboratory test. The furnace appears to have extended for at least two metres towards east and 2 mts. towards west. Thus the total dimensions of the furnace appear to be 8 m. long and 8 m. wide. The channel (exposed in trench 1) appears to have been bordered by the furnace alignment, all along the west

The brief exploration cited above revealed the existence of an iron smelting industrial complex here during the late medieval times. Located in an ideal context in an isolated and fertile valley, surrounded by a chain of hills and thick forest cover, the site is bordered by a stone built tunnel like channel on the right and drained waters of the lake on its left. Its approximate extent is a kilometre over a 30 m. wide area. The deposit is about 2 to 3 m. thick and consists of burnt clay fragments, charcoal, terra-cotta pipe portions, late medieval period pottery, iron pieces and slags, steel balls, etc. The furnace floor, connected to the stone built channel, has a dimension of 7 m. by 3 m. The technicians working on Iron technology in the departmental laboratory opined that the steel for the weapons here would have been processed by applying rice husk and silica. The strength, temper, granular design etc. would have been obtained by repeated heating, hammering and quenching the objects while applying carbon grains in course of repeated lamination of the sheet. After proper documentation of the entire site, at least a portion of a mound is to be excavated to assess the personality of the site that produced weapons for distant lands.

COIN OF CHĀLUKYA (RĀ)MA

—Dr. M.Amzad Ali

Provenance Warangal, Metal Gold, Shape - Round and Slightly hollow, Weight – 2.4 grams, Size 1.6 cms. The coin is partly abraded on the obverse. The following six punches around the edge are clearly noticeable :

- Two punches situated at 12 and 7 O'clock seem to contain the letter 'Sri' in Kannada with spiral around.
- One punch at 9 contains two letters *lu kya*.
- Another opposite it, at 3 has the letter *ma*. All the letters are assignable to 12th century Kannada.
- In the central part of the flan, traces of an animal, likely a boar are noticeable
- Two incuses are totally abraded. The reverse is blank.

Taking the cue from the coin shape and the two letters "Lu Kya" the missing letter after "SRI" can be read as *Chā*, with the help of which, the first part of the legend can be reconstructed as *Śrī[Chā]lu kya*. About the second part which is supposed to end with *ma*, there are two alternatives-one *Rāma* and other *Vikra ma*. Between the two, the former seems to be plausible, as it is a single letter occupying one punched space. Even otherwise, the two letters *Vi Kra* can also be supposed to occupy one incuse as in the case of *Lu Kya*, making the total punches six as :

Śrī [Chā] lukya Śrī [Rā]ma

or *Śrī [Chā] lukya [vi kra] ma*

In both cases, the legend represents the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, who ruled Deccan including Telangana of the present Andhra Pradesh, from

A.D.1076 to 1126-7 He had several titles among which Tribhuvanamalla is the most popular. The second one, Chālukya Rāma though not as popular as the former, frequently occurs in the inscriptions¹ The legend taken in the second case, indicates his proper name itself. Thus both Chālukya Rāma or Chālukya Vikrama represent the king Tribhuvana Malla Vikramāditya VI and the coin can be attributed to that Chālukya King. Unless we get more coins of this king, the legend Śrī Chālukya (Rā)ma or Śrī Chālukya(vikra)ma can not be confirmed. There are other Chālukya kings whose names end with *ma* like Bhīma, but they belong to other regions. Secondly, the coin typology is similar to that of the coins of Jayasīma and others of the same family. So the present coin with much confidence can be attributed to Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI of Kalāyana.

I thank Dr. P.V.P.Sastry for supplying me the epigraphical references.

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UDAYA-SAMUDRAM - THE KING OF CANALS

—K.S.Sobhan

Udaya Samudram, otherwise known as Pangal tank, is situated in Nalgonda district. This tank was popularly known as 'Rāsa or Rājā Kalva' the king of canals during the time of Qutb Shahis.

Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh is situated geographically in an advantageous position. Though it is surrounded by land on three sides, on the south-eastern side, it has the river Krishna as its natural boundary, separating it from Guntur district. It is here, at the end of the Miryalaguda taluk of Nalgonda district that the river Krishna is joined by its tributary Musi, the life giving water source for Hyderabad and Nalgonda districts. Odapalli, where the rivers Musi and Krishna join together, was a place of strategical importance both from political and economic points of view.

Excavation of tanks has been a common practice in the Telangana region, for, the peculiar nature of its topography favours tank irrigation. Naturally, the physical features of the district of Nalgonda, which is in the Telangana region, are conducive to the excavation of great tanks like Udaya Samudram or Pangal tank. The district has granitic nature of the rocks and nonporous nature of the soil, which lend a helping hand in the construction of bunds. In this connection, Mehdi Ali appropriately says, "Wherever groups of granite hills occur, tanks are sure to be found associated with them. They are not generally found in the trap regions, as the soil is too porous, and the bunds thrown across become much cracked and fissured in the hot season so that they are easily breached on the burst of the rains"¹.

The soils that are found in Andhra Pradesh are of five types according to Irrigation Committee Report². They are (1) Red soil, (2) Black Soil, (3) Deltaic Alluvial Soil, (4) Coastal

Alluvium and (5) Laterite Soil According to the Report, Nalgonda district in which the Pangal tank is situated contains red soil³ on which "all types of crops can be raised"⁴.

The soil of the district is made more fertile by the waters of the Musi. Writing about the irrigation sources like tanks and lakes Syed Mehdi Ali⁵ says, "They are usually formed by uniting two projecting spurs of low hills at some point, where they advance far into the valley by enormous cause-ways of granite or mounds of earth, which dam up the different streams rushing from the hills during the rainy season". The water thus collected forms into a sheet of water three to ten miles in circumference.

It is thus clear that the district of Nalgonda is composed of granitic rocks. The water supply here was satisfactory thereby the soil was well fertile. It appears, people of the area took full advantage of the river Musi. Nawab Karmat Jung Bahadur⁶ F.C.R., Secretary to the Government of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, who was kept in charge of the drainage department and who was an Assistant Engineer in the Nalgonda district says, "The Musi, a tributary of the Krishna, is a valuable river as a source of irrigation to the inhabitants of the country through which it flows. This is evidenced from the fact that no less than eighteen old anicuts can now be seen in the seventy four miles of the river's length in the Nalgonda district. ...". "The most important as well as the largest of these irrigation works from the Musi are the Upper and Lower Musi- Pangal projects - Pangal tank being the last of the series of tanks, into which the two channels, after winding a course of eighty and sixty miles respectively, ultimately pour their contents".

The abundance of water supply and richness of the soil of Pangal Circar are borne out by the description of Moulvie Syed Mehdi Ali. It is said that Wompurthy, a large village in the Soojoor Purganah of Pangal Circar "is in a flourishing state. The soil about it is rich and fertile and irrigated by numerous tanks"⁷. Similarly the same is said about Strelungapoor village belonging to the Pangal Pargana. Describing the tank here Moulvie Syed Mehdi Ali glorifies it.

in the following lines: "It is remarkable for its large tank containing a supply of water throughout the year. It is well built and sustained⁸.

The Pangal circar of Asaf Jahis was known as *Pāṅgal Rājyaṁ* or the kingdom of Pangal during the pre-Qutb Shahi period. It is clear that the kingdom of Pangal was one of the richest areas from the point of view of water sources and soil fertility. The rain fall in this area contributes a lot to its sources of water supply. The rain fall in the district of Nalgonda as shown in the district-wise rain fall Map of A.P. is 8 mm⁹.

In the Circar of Pangal, Udaya Samudram or the Pangal tank is one of the biggest tanks and also the last one connected to the river Musi. This was repaired thoroughly during the time of Ibrahim Qutb Shah by one Rahmatullah¹⁰. There are two inscriptions¹¹ containing the same contents in Telugu and Persian languages. They were dated on the 14th of Ramadan, 958 H. and 15th day of the bright half of *Māgha*, in the cyclic year *Pramōdūta*, the *Śālivāhana* year being 1472. According to the Christian era, it falls on the 18th of January, 1551.

The inscription gives a very interesting account about the tank. The water to this tank was brought from the river Musi, through two channels running a course of eighty and sixty miles. Both the channels originated from Namile, situated in *Indupurēla-sima* of Pangal or *Udayagiri Rājyaṁ*¹².

The antiquity of this tank is very clearly brought out by Nawab Karamat Jung Bahadur¹³. According to him there were two channels viz., the upper channel and the lower channel that connected Pangal Tank with the river Musi. The upper channel measuring 7 miles in length extends upto Gokaram tank and the lower channel measuring 37.5 miles in length extends upto Tummalagudem tank. Beyond these two places, the channels remained in disuse for hundreds of years. To highlight further the antiquity of the tank, he makes a comparison between the latest technique of construction adopted with the earlier one. He notices that stones of huge

size set in typical hydraulic mortar of earlier times are replaced by much smaller sized stones set in some kind of mortar.

The inscription gives very valuable and interesting account regarding the distribution of income derived from the tank. The income distribution is fixed at the rate of "one share to the king, one and a-half to the subjects, two shares for Turukas(i.e. Musalmans) and two shares to Brāhman"¹⁴.

Rahmatullah, who is described in the inscription, as having prudence as his ornament and also as the treasure of brilliance among the favoured, seems to be a wise counsellor of Sayyid Shah Mir Isfahani.

The evidence available from the inscription is specially significant, because, here we get information that *Daśabandha*¹⁵ system, a very popular and useful tool adopted by the Vijayanagar monarchs in getting public works constructed, was equally adopted by the Qutb Shahi Sultans also.

In this context, it needs to be mentioned that the word *Turukas* appears to have been wrongly interpreted by the author of the article, Dr. Ghulam Yazdani as "army". There is no valid reason for accepting this interpretation, for, the whole tenor of the inscription makes it clear that the traditional distribution of produce is adhered to¹⁶. Here in this context, the word *Turakalu* replaces the word "the Civil Servants of the village". So *Turakalu* here should properly represent the Civil Servants, but not the army.

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THE CAUSES FOR THE FALL OF KĀKATĪYAS OF WARANGAL

A NEW INTERPRETATION

—R.Laxma Reddy

The historiography on the causes for the fall of Kākatīyas and the rise of regional powers is broadly divided into three schools of thought. The Traditional School¹ of thought which identified the nature of State of the medieval South India as 'centralized bureaucratic system and monarchical form', attributes the campaigns and conquests of the kings as cause to the rise and fall of the kingdoms. Defects in the administrative system, particularly military organisational pattern and war craft were accounted for. Further, the frequent participation of the king in the suppression of local rebellions or local chiefs, invasions in neighbourhood and foreign attacks, especially the Muslim expansion² into Āndhradēśa were also thought to be responsible for the fall of the kingdom.

For the fall of the Kākatīya kingdom, this school attributed Pratāparudra's extensive military exploits and Muslim invasions, as the main reasons for the downfall of the Kākatīyas. Further the very nature of the State, i.e. *Nāyaṅkara System* and the *Reddi-Velama* conflict were thought to be responsible for the fall of the Kākatīya empire³. The rise of regional Hindu kingdoms in the post Kākatīya times was represented to champion the cause of Hindu Dharma against Muslim depredation. The *Vīṣa* grant⁴ of Musunūri Prōlayanāyaka describes the condition of the post Kākatīya times as follows :

The cruel wretches subjected the rich to torture for the sake of their wealth. Many of their victims died of terror at the very sight of their vicious countenance, the brāhmaṇas were compelled to abandon their religious practices, the Images of the Gods were over-turned and broken; the *agraharas* of the learned were confiscated; the cultivators were despoiled of the fruits of their labour; and their families were impoverished and ruined. None dared to claim anything whether it was a piece of property or one's own wife. To these despicable wretches,

wine was ordinary drink, beef-the staple food, and the slaying of the brāhmanas the favourite pastime. The land of Āndhradēśa, left without a protector, suffered destruction from the Yavanas like forest subjected to devastating wild fire". "There was born, as it was an *ānśa* of the God Viṣṇu, who took pity on the suffering of the people, had descended from heaven, the king Prōla of the Musunūri family of the fourth caste, who assumed the sovereignty of the earth. He destroyed the power of the Yavanas, who abandoned that forts and fled to unknown places, unable to resist his might, the very people who suffered at the hands of the Yavanas sought protection under him and turned against and put them to death. Having overcome the Yavanas in this fashion, he restored to brāhmanas their ancient *agrahāras* confiscated by them, and revived the performance of the sacrifices, the smoke issuing from the fire pits of which spreading over the country-side claimed it of the pollution caused by the movements of those evil-doers. The agriculturists surrendered willingly one sixth of their produce to the king, and he set out his hand to the task of repairing the damages caused by the *parasikas*. King Prōla established himself at Rekapally in Godavari District at the foot of the Malyavānta mountain, and having entrusted the administration to his younger brother Kāpayanayaka, he devoted himself to the performance of charitable and meritorious deeds. He granted many *agrahāras* and large sums of money to deserving scholars". This was interpreted by the traditionalists as upholding Hindu *dharma* by the Hindu regional powers against Muslim threats and violence. It seems that the regional powers – the Velamas of Rāchakoṇḍa, the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara etc., emerged, only to champion the cause of Hindu *dharma* which was violated due to Muslim attacks and plunder caused by them.

The Marxist School⁵ of thought which represented the State as a 'decentralised power structure', wherein a class of landed intermediaries exist between the king and peasants viewed differently. These landed intermediaries of the feudal lords who became strong by possessing land and power delegated by kings, declared independence when over-lord became weak. i.e.

immediately after the fall of one dynasty, the powerful feudatories declare independence and develop into regional powers, at the expense of neighbouring weak feudal lords. Kambhampati Satyanarayana⁶ mentions, that the lack of military discipline and upto date, armour in the Kākatiyan forces, internecine warfare among the feudal lords, the growth of *Nāyamkara* system, the Reddi Velama conflict, excessive taxation and rise of regional kingdoms, the plunder by the Muslim chieftains, were some of the main causes for the fall of Kākatiyas and the rise of regional powers in Andhra during the post-Kākatiya period.

The American School of thought which views the nature of medieval South Indian State as 'multicentred power structure', wherein different power centres are linked 'dually', i.e., royally and ritually, and opines that the regional powers are nothing less than structural continuities of local power, over either the 'patrimonial or prebendal regimes'. This school of thought believes that when the linkages between the 'king' and the different power groups, either royally or ritually are lost, the whole structure will collapse and the 'local power groups' gradually develop into 'supra local' and finally to regional powers, either by curbing the power of the neighbouring States or shifting alliances frequently among themselves⁷.

While the first two schools of thought, stress on the defaults of the administration and external threats, and feudal warfare, the third school of thought sheds light on the very nature of the State and linkages between the kings and different power groups.

Now the responsibility of *Nāyamkara* system for the downfall of the Kākatiya kingdom and the emergence of regional powers are to be discussed.

The *Nāyamkara* system which stabilised the construction of forts as well as the subordinate powers, was viewed differently. The traditional school viewed it as an order of State official in which assimilated, all chiefly authorities. It is a form of bureaucracy to perform the duties on behalf of the king⁸.

The Marxist school viewed the *Nāyaṁkara* system as a feudal institution, which served on the delegation of power by the sovereign⁹

The American School views this institution as a 'supra local' body which emerged between the monarchy and locality by virtue of semi-patrimonial possessions. In other words, local potentates having got the recognition of the monarch, legalised and expanded the rights and possessions and became a supra-local power¹⁰.

In *Velugōtivarivāmsāvali*¹¹ it is mentioned that Prāsāditya introduced the *Nāyaṁkara* system during the reign of Rudrama Dēvi and it was well organised by the time of Pratāpa Rudra. According to *Nītisāra*¹² the king should assign villages to the *nāyakas* in lieu of their salaries and the maintenance of the army, for the king's use. All the *sāmantas* in the country under this system were permitted, with the condition of maintaining compulsorily some army for the service of the king, in times of war. By the time of Pratāparudra, the nature of *Nāyaṁkara* system of military administration had changed. Pratāparudra entrusted the defence of the seventy seven bastions of his fort only to the Velama community. It is held that the *nāyakas* of the early Kākatīyan period were the rudiments of *nāyaṁkaras* of the late Kākatīyan period¹³.

The 'local' dominant peasant warrior groups rose to the status of 'supra local' powers by becoming *nayakas*, holding *nāyaṁkaras* and gradually develop into the 'regional powers', when they lose royal and ritual links with their overlord. It seems that during the later part of the Kākatīyan period, i.e., in the times of Pratāparudra, there was a gradual reduction of *rācabhūmis* which were held by the royal officials, who acted as check against the '*nāyaṁkara* holdings'. It resulted in cutting off the royal links with the king. Moreover, decrease in the number of *agrahāras* and *dēvabhōgas* held by the brāhmins and temples, which acted as the pace-maker or the buffer zones between the different 'war units' contributed to the loss of ritual links. When the two links are loosened, there was much scope for the consolidation of 'supra

local power', by frequently shifting their alliances with the neighbouring units of power, thereby emerging out as the regional powers immediately after the central power collapsed

Thus, the extensive growth of *Nāyamkara* system or the very nature of the 'war state' of the Kākatiya empire was an inbuilt aspect of the fall of the Kākatiyas and structural continuance of the 'supra local' powers into regional powers.

However, a perusal of the records and in view of the above causes, it is found that the most important cause for the fall of Kākatiya kingdom was the deterioration in economic power of the Kakatiya state. The frequent Muslim attacks made in the times of Pratāparudra (7 times according to *Pratāpacharitra* and 5 times according to Muslim chronicles) drained away the wealth of the empire to Delhi. The details of war indemnity runs as follows. When the Muslims attacked Telangana in 1309 A.D. Pratāparudra resisted stubbornly but finally had to surrender all the treasures, elephants, horses and promised to pay annual tribute and to extend military assistance in his further campaigns. Isamy¹⁴ mentions only wealth and 23 elephants. But Amir Khusru says that Malik Naib carried away to Delhi on this occasion, wealth in addition to golden image of the Rāya of Telangana and one hundred elephants. According to Abdulla Wassaf that gold weighed 6000 Kharwars of loads. Much yellow gold was in the large sacks. It is stated by Amir Khusru, Malik¹⁵ left Warangal with all his booty and a thousand camels groaned under the weight of treasure". In the third attack of Muslims over Telangana in A.D. 1316 Khusru Khan, general of Muslim forces, had collected from Pratāparudra one hundred elephants, 12000 horses, gold, jewels and gems and lastly ceded five districts of his kingdom. In the final action Pratāparudra had to surrender all his wealth in his treasury, numerous elephants and horses and finally himself on that occasion. The whole city of Warangal was plundered¹⁶. Thus, the Muslim attacks into Telangana resulted in bankruptcy of treasury and diminished the State wealth that accumulated since many years by the Kākatiyas, was handed

over to Muslim generals. The country of Telangana economically as well as politically became very weak, hence disintegrated

Among some of the causes, the most important cause was the decline in the economic power of the State which led to the chain of causes as noted in the approaches of various schools of thought referred to in the foregoing pages.

1. The impressive army of 9 Lakh archers which Pratāparudra deployed against the Muslims on the first occasion, most probably consisted of, in major part, the contingents supplied by the Nāyakas. This in itself demanded a large share of the State Revenue.
2. Pratāparudra gave the following wealth either as war indemnity or tribute to the Muslim rulers.

During A.D. 1309-10, the armies of Alauddin Khalji, under Malik Kafur, invaded Warangal and defeated Pratāparudra. The latter sued for peace, paying 612 elephants, 12,000 horses and 9,600 maunds of gold, jewellery, etc. According to Barni, the weight of the wealth taken to Delhi was equal to the weight borne by 1,000 camels. According to the same historian, Pratāparudra parted with all the wealth that was accumulated over the years¹⁷. After two years, Alauddin took away 512 elephants, 5,000 horses, and 500 maunds of gold, jewellery etc., to Delhi¹⁸.

Again in A.D. 1318, the armies of Mubarak Shah, the successor of Alauddin Khalji, marched against Pratāparudra, and the latter not only paid the arrears of tribute, but also presents in the shape of 100 elephants, 12,000 horses besides gold and other precious stones¹⁹.

Finally in A.D. 1323, during the rule of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, Prince Juna Khan, invaded Warangal and took the ruler of Warangal as captive²⁰. With this, the rule of Kakatiya dynasty came to an end

3. The constant devastation of the Kākatiya territories and the consequent disorders might have broken the economic power of the people, which ultimately led to the depletion of State treasury, which, again in turn, became a handicap for Pratāparudra to maintain and deploy huge armies as he did on earlier occasions.
4. Prataparudra was not regular in payment of tribute to Delhi Sultan. He did so on two occasions, that is on the death of Alauddin Khalji and on the demise of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, and only their successors tried, by force, to collect the arrears from Pratāparudra. It can be assumed that Pratāparudra defaulted due to lack of sufficient revenues.

To sum up the defects in the structure of administration and external threats, feudal warfare and the very nature of the State etc., were thought to be responsible for the fall of the Kākatiyas of Warangal. Further, the extensive growth of *Nāyāṁkara* system or the very nature of the 'war state' of the Kākatiyan empire was an in-built factor responsible for the fall of the Kākatiyas.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF LITERACY IN INDIA

—*B.Vidyadhara Rao*

Man, it is held is born with three fundamental urges, viz., 1. urge to live 2. urge for sex and 3. urge for artistic expression. The first two urges are common to all evolved forms of life, but man is distinguished by artistic expression which manifests itself in several ramifications. It is the destiny of man that he has to learn everything by observation, assiduous study and inference. He has to develop the skills required for crafts by constant practice. The intuitive faculty of man is poor and undependable, in sharp contrast to all other forms of life.

Nature, normally does not provide the necessary know-how for him automatically. It expects him to learn and acquire the knowledge for the type of living he decides for himself.

Acquired knowledge gets transmitted from the progenitors to succeeding generations. This is the essence of traditional culture for any community. The richer the tradition, to that extent its culture gets equated with richer civilisation.

Acquisition of knowledge may be possible by a variety of approaches. Observing the external world and classifying the properties of objects is generally considered scientific approach. But man as an entity is the only living organism which is capable of such observation and inference. The necessary instrument for such exercises is inbuilt in man. It is felt by certain sections of people that an understanding of the instrument is more essential before it is put to service for practical purposes.

An introspective study of man himself, forms, perhaps a sort of hard ware in the modern terminology, while the entire scientific development forms the soft ware packages, the scope of which theoretically, tends towards infinity.

The progenitors of Indian culture, for historic reasons, were inclined to introspective investigations and the acquired epistemological data formed their *Upanishadic* philosophy.

termed as *Jñāna*; objective study, from their point of view was only specialising in impermanent objects with limited and transitory values. Their philosophy, for convenience of reference, may be termed as idealistic.

Objective study helped for the material advancement of any civilization more rapidly and the results were very impressive. It is a self-accelerating process. Compared to the pace of advancement of 19th century, the advancement in the 20th is more fast; and even in the 20th the pre world-war advancement was steady in comparison with the post-war phases.

In contradistinction, the *Upanishadic* philosophy of Indian Rishis is considered the ultimate and final *Jñāna* and the modern individuals are possibly deteriorated to such an extent, that they cannot even hope to follow the content of their own traditional knowledge.

Indians, draw satisfaction in the glory of past India, with the tacit understanding that we are inferior successors to our own tradition. This is certainly not intellectual humility, but a willing adoption of a permanent inferiority complex for the present and future generations.

The reasons for such a state of affairs are not palpable. They are inbuilt in to the texture of oriental cultures. Over-emphasising the value of idealistic philosophies is only one among them.

The view that the data amassed about material objects of the world is impermanent, was wrong. Man preserves knowledge, by transmitting it to the next generation. As a matter of fact, scientific advancement could take rapid strides, because it constantly tried to improve upon what is already known. It rejects the idea that what was said by earlier authorities can not be doubted. The individual, be he Archimedes, Pythagoras, or Newton - he may be very great person. But when science is compelled to modify or even reject his theory in the light of better observation, they never view it as an insult to the great man's personality. This is an inbuilt advantage in objective approach.

Ancient texts of India were preserved in human memory for a hundred generations. They believed that it was the only way and a perfect way for it. So, whatever was felt worth preserving, it was retained by individuals by rote and transmitted to another generation by repetition and recapitulation. In such a dispensation, there can not be any short cuts. Either a person is well versed in a subject or a dud. Nobody was recognised as a scholar because he remembered parts of a text. There were no percentages and moderations, with the result only very few could opt for the arduous task of learning to be a scholar in India.

Settling for one craft or another, was invariably much easier. And here lies the latent reason, why a scholar commanded respect automatically because he did what few others could not do and if he is lost, sometimes a whole text is lost. The implied reason to say that a Brahmin should not be awarded capital punishment by Manu lies in this fact. Possibly for a proper understanding he should have said that a scholar should be exempt from capital punishment as there were no scholars in other castes during Manu's time.

The need to perfect a technique for writing and reading, thus, had a much later origin in India for this simple reason. A simple and convenient process of preserving the scriptures was not availed in ancient India. On the contrary, they cultivated an attitude of contempt towards the art of writing till a very late date.

Jains had schisms among themselves after the death of Jina, Mahāvīra. They broadly divided themselves into two sections (as *Digambara* and *Svētāmbaras*). For an understanding of their religious prescriptions, a technique to preserve their philosophy was acutely felt by them. They were already accustomed to use symbols and letters, to keep track of their trading records. Though the Jaina philosophy was partly idealistic, they contributed vastly for the material prosperity, by extending the borders of trading activities.

The Brāhmin tradition of preserving texts by rote was not there for Jains. Again Jain philosophy was not the exclusive prerogative of the select few. Their tenets were to be practiced by every Jain to the extent possible. The need to preserve authentic and authoritative versions of their religious texts by writing was therefore the need of the Jains initially.

The script which was in a rudimentary form was already in use in their trading records and this was adopted with necessary modifications, for writing these texts in a language, which could be understood by the average Jain. The use of script was attributed to the first *Tīrthaṅkara* himself and it was called after Brāhmi's daughter Ṛishabha through his Queen Yaśasvi and it was she who mastered the art of writing, while another daughter through Queen Sunaṇḍa, named Suṇḍari, excelled in the science of numbers. Apparently, it is not by any coincidence that the ancient Indian Script was called Brāhmi.

It is not particularly necessary to dwell at length that even the Jains had an oral tradition which was disputed frequently and schisms arose often. But their oral tradition, quite possibly was aided with the help of partly documented tenets on perishable materials. The traditional thoroughness of the Brahmins in preserving texts by rote was not in their creed and scholarship was not their aim.

More or less, for the same reasons, the Buddhists followed suit and it is also well known that they too had disputes and schisms. Jainism and Buddhism had a parallel history and they could not master the traditional Indian method of oral transmission of Texts. Writing had to be perfected to preserve their texts. Going into the intricacies as to which section first adopted the method of writing books, is more or less a specialised academic exercise which need not concern us. But the question naturally arises whether every Jain and every Buddhist was a literate. It is difficult to answer such queries one way or the other. Obviously literates were more among them only, and certainly not among the Hindus; even the scholars among which had little use for writing.

The circumstances which brought about a horizontal division in the population of India by the institution of a caste structure is a separate topic of investigation. Various approaches were made to get at its root cause. G.S.Ghurye and others tried to draw conclusion by physical, anthropological data which proved to be of little value.

Manu prescribed only four castes and expressly stated that there is no fifth caste in his scheme of caste division. The reference in *R̥igvēda* - 10th maṇḍala does not give any clue to its origin in its *Purusha Sookta*. Anyway, it was considered a much later addition to the original texts. But realising the need for a profession for every person born, he elaborately tried to fix the professions by birth. If Manu has to be understood as a whole, partial quotations are most misleading. If every profession is identified with a caste, it is a grave departure from Manu, as already given above.

To determine the caste of any person, Manu prescribed a simple procedure. He equated Man with the seed and Woman with *kshētra* or field and the plant sprouts forth according to the seed only. Thus, the father's caste is the caste of the progeny. Considerable confusion was created by the commentators owing to prescribed professions, which came to be equated with caste.

Inter-caste unions were taking place and these were broadly categorised into two channels by Manu. When a man belonging to a higher position in the order of castes, marries a woman in the lower order, it was named *Anulōma* and was broadly permissible. On the other hand, if man in a lower position marries a woman of the higher position, it was termed as unacceptable. Nevertheless, whenever such a situation arose, it was termed as *Pratilōma* and professions considered to be mean were assigned to the progeny. The striking example is that of a śūdra marrying a Brāhmin woman, whose children were called Chaṇḍālas. According to Manu's equation of castes, a chaṇḍāla was only a Śūdra because of his father's caste. It was

never mentioned as a ~~separate~~ caste. He is only a lower order Sudra, whenever ordering among Sūdras is attempted.

By prescribing the profession by birth, the need to open a number of craft schools was dispensed with. Profession by heredity initially proved to be an advantage. Unusual levels of skills were attained by this prescription and even other tribes which did not have a caste structure, later on, wanted to adopt for themselves such a structure. Those who wanted to be away from it remained as tribes, excluded from the benefits of progressive civilisation. *Bhagavadgīta* prescribes the method by which a caste lattice can be imposed on a tribe. There are reasons to believe that the caste structure of South India was the consequence of such a prescription. Here initially caste was not by birth, but by profession. A sort of a ready made structure of castes came to be adopted in the South much later than its initiation in the North.

Manu did not mention a class of writers by birth. This is a strong reason to believe that, it was not a recognised profession among Hindus at the time of Manu. A comprehensive work like that of Manu could not have missed it, if he was aware of it.

Yājñavalkya smṛiti mentions a Kāyastha, who is known to be a professional writer. The Upakramāṇika of *Mṛichhakatika* mentions a Kāyastha, who was the off-spring of a *Kshatriya* father and sudra mother. By Manu, he was mentioned as *Ugra* in the service of the king. It is this *Ugra*, who later came to be called a Kāyastha, with writing as his profession.

It is already pointed out that professional writing was a post Manu development and was looked upon as degrading. The scholar never had anything to do with writing and the writer Kāyastha, was in general not a scholar. Possibly, he was like the other craftsmen, such as the smith, the carpenter etc., whose services were utilised for a consideration, whenever the need arose. Most of the ancient scriptures were in existence and preserved by rote, a task which proved to be difficult, as time passed by. The need for writing was felt even by the Hindu element of the Society, albeit reluctantly later.

The Upakramāṇika of *Mahābhārata*, the largest literary work of India, mentions the need for a writer. Krishṇadwālpāyana after considerable trials and tribulations, mustered the services of Gaṇeśa, the traditional first writer of Hindus. The question, whether this Gaṇeśa was the elephant-headed God or Bṛhaspati, the lord over *Akshara Gaṇās* is a different topic of interest. Suffice it to add here that, Vyāsa realised that *Mahābhārata* could not be composed as in the case of *Vēdas* and *Brahma Sūtras* and preserved by rote.

When we say Vyāsa wrote *Mahābhārata*, we say so because, we are guided by the force of our observation and experience in the modern context. No doubt, modern authors do dictate to stenos and use dictaphones but without exception, modern authors are all well versed in the three Rs. The circumstances of Vyāsa were altogether different. It goes without saying that he himself could not write nor any of his disciples could do so. Only such a point of view is in perfect harmony with ancient Indian tradition.

The history of the art-of-writing is not preserved for us. Its development has to be understood only with the help of very scanty references that occur here and there.

Writing had to be a separate profession for several reasons. It was not merely fixing up a few phonetic symbols. The letters were to be carved on palm leaves or to be very carefully written on *Bhoorjara patras* with specially prepared equipment. For the scholar it is inconvenient and even otherwise, the art of writing was not a noble activity till a much later date.

The courts of Hindu kings of India, had no offices which preserved records. Occasionally, an epigraph was caused to be carved on stones and copper plate grants, were issued from time to time. The role of the scholar here was limited to the composing of the text and the craftsman had to undertake the rest of the job. Now we cannot compose anything without pen or paper and therefore we have to project our notions of composition into historic periods. Those who have doubts will do well to remember the practice of *Avadhānam* which survived

to this day. There were no parallels of such tremendous exercises of memory for composition, any where in the world.

The writer, therefore was not a very important citizen in the early kingdoms. Often because, the art of writing, was harnessed now and then, for mean purposes, the professional writer was viewed with disdain and suspicion and his activities were condemned as a whole. Writers usually take advantage of the helplessness of the illiterates to whom they lend their services. Every language of India has its stock of stories about the mischief of writers.

The persons, who could read and write, consequently could not hope to bag covetous Government jobs. Their income for the services rendered was modest and their position in the society was certainly not enviable in ancient India.

With the onset of Islamic rule, the matters underwent rapid transformation. Suppressed by religious prescription, the Islamic craft could not develop sculpturing but channelled this activity more towards the art of flourished writing. Their courts were courts of record and written administrative orders were issued and despatched to distant places, usually and not occasionally. The traditional scholar with his disdain for writing, was an anachronism in this new situation. The writer-class came to the forefront hence forward, with jobs of importance under Muslim Subedars.

Tradition dies hard but it had to die in unfavourable environment. Other section of the people also started learning the technique of reading and writing to get petty jobs.

It was already mentioned that as the bulk of the literature increased, writing came to be recognised as one of the important professions. But, when even the living of many persons came to be linked to this technique even other people who were not born in the writer class, reluctantly harnessed themselves to the learning of writing.

Switching to the South the story was slightly different. There were no professional writers till a late date.

The composer of a greater portion of Telugu *Mahābhārata*, Tikkana, dictated to a writer called Gurunātha, who was believed to be a potter. By implication, this seems to suggest that persons of higher castes did not resort to writing on a large scale even upto 13th century A.D. Those who feel inconvenient with the idea that Tikkana was not well versed in the art of writing, quickly jump to the analogy of modern modes of dictation. Gurunātha was certainly not a stenographer to Tikkana.

With the establishment of Bahamani rule firmly in the Deccan, even a section of the Brahmins realised the need to pick up writing, though it was looked down as a mean profession. Most of them were appointed as Village record-keepers in Āndhra and were called as *Niyōgis*. They were initiated into the art of writing by *Jaina Gurus* in the beginning and possibly their initiation ceremony includes a salutation to *sigdha* (the Jaina Guru) with *pañchākshari*. But, it is a different ramification.

A *niyōgi* is a person who deviated from his traditional assignments of duty and got himself appointed for a petty job by learning the art of writing.

Another interesting episode of dictation comes from the Vijayanagara period. Allasāni Peddana, the court poet of Krishṇadēvarāya, was asked by his patron to compose another *Kavya*, on the lines of *Manucharitra*, dedicated earlier to Krishṇadēvarāya himself. Peddana narrates a number of preconditions for it, which includes the services of both a reader and a writer. We are now so accustomed to punctuated printing today, so that reading became much easier, but the run-on lines could be read out aloud properly, only by a person who is initiated into the realms of literary appreciation. Peddana in particular wanted a reader and a writer initiated into the *Kavya* form of literature. In other words ordinary writers of inferior calibre were possibly more numerous in the 16th century, but Peddana needed special writers.

The use of paper and the printing of a number of copies during the British period completely changed the attitude of the people towards the arts of reading and writing. Scholarship also ceased to be the exclusive privilege of a class of people in various subjects. European methods of teaching added a dimension of respectability for the person who is literate. Many people even take the exaggerated view that it serves as a panacea for most of the evils that infest modern societies. It is true that the vision and perception of a person widens considerably, with literacy, provided he constantly reads together information about developments and changes that are taking place in the world. The habit of reading is gradually diminishing even among the literates all the world, over owing to the development of visual media.

Even the publishers prefer a number of photographs to go with the text to make their book-attractive and readable. Pains-taking readers are few and far between and hence even if literacy is wide based, its advantages are bound to be marginal.

British period made literacy more wide based and the premium on strong memories as a prerequisite for modern scholarship, tended to be a myth. But it was not altogether an untained boon in so far as it fostered mediocrity at every level. Gone are the days of stalwarts and authorities on any subject and expanding knowledge stresses the need for more and more specialisation. Research, therefore could be worthwhile, when it is undertaken by a team and the role of the individual is subordinated to the collective interest in the subject. This is not in harmony with the general egocentric temperament of man.

Several aspects of the history of literacy are only cursorily mentioned above and any of these items may prove to be useful for further investigation and research. Literacy levels were always low in India from the beginning of history, but it was not felt a disadvantage in those times. Those who take pride in the ancient glory of India will do well to remember that Indian scholarship was unrelated to literacy in the literal sense of the term.

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THE ARMENIAN CEMETERY AT UPPUGUDA(OPIGUDA)

—Dr. V.Nersessian

Armenians have been connected with India as traders, from the days of remote antiquity. They came to India by the overland route, through Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet and were well established in all the commercial centres, long before the advent of European traders into India. A fair idea of the extent of the trade carried on by the Armenians of New Julfa with India and the Far-east may be ascertained from a carefully prepared list of names of towns with which the Armenian traders were acquainted and had commercial ties in the seventeenth century. This list was prepared by an Armenian named Kostand, a School Master at Julfa, at a time, when the enterprising Armenian merchants ventured into the remotest parts of India in their commercial pursuits :-

'Cashmere, Peshawar, Mooltan, Attock, Sirhind, Janabad (Shahjehanabad, i.e. Delhi), Akbarabad, Khurja, Bangalah(Bengal), Behar, Phathanah(Patna), Benares, Ghazipore, Jalalpur, Shahzadpur, Khairabad, Daryabad, Daulatabad, Sirhinj, Berhampore, Surat, Gujerat, Aurungabad, Shahgarh, Hyderabad, Moochleebandar(Masulipatam), and Bhutan'¹.

Despite the fact that, Armenians had established large colonies in the major cities of India between 16th and 17th centuries, yet they left no tangible written records of their activities, traditions or social conditions. The presence of Armenians in these regions is only attested by thousands of old Armenian epitaphs in deserted cemeteries and churchyards².

There is also evidence to show that a fairly large number of Armenians had also settled in Hyderabad(Deccan) during and after 17th century, although we have no means of tracing their history. Mesroby J.Seth in his major work on the *Armenians in India* states that in 1895 he had copied, 19 Armenian inscriptions, which are still decipherable, dating from A.D.1640 to 1724. In an old deserted cemetery at Hyderabad, there are two Armenian priests buried there,

a Rev Johannes, the son of Rev.Jacob, who died in 1680, and a Rev Simon, the son of Rev.Margar, who died in A D 1724³ O.S Crofton⁴ locates this old cemetery at Opiguda confirming that 'this cemetery contains 19 Armenian inscriptions' of which 17 are still decipherable There is also Dutch inscription' of a merchant who died in A D 1662 and was buried in the small Armenian cemetery at Opiguda According to the same source, there was also a flourishing Armenian colony in Aurungabad for two centuries, which disappeared with the demise of the Moghul empire, leaving no mark beyond the cemetery at Kotela outside the Paitan gate, which still contains 42 inscribed graves

The following inscriptions, the dates of which range from A.D 1640 to 1807 are from the old Armenian cemetery at Opiguda Daniel Havart in his work *Op en Ondergangh van Cormandel* states that the English and Dutch merchants in Hyderabad, originally shared one cemetery situated near the Dutch factory not far from Ārminār⁵ This information of Daniel Havart is difficult to substantiate, since no English graves of the 17th and 18th centuries are known to exist in or near Hyderabad, and from the fact that Steven Yslerands Visser's tomb is found in the Armenian cemetery implies that, the Dutch used the Armenian cemetery The first tangible evidence of European penetration into the Deccan appears in A D 1636, when one John Drake writes to the President and Council at Surat to say that he had arrived at Kirkey(Aurungabad) and that he had delivered their letter to the Padre, who was living with Mirza Zulhane, a prominent member of the Armenian community.

The Dutch acquired their own cemetery in A D 1678 and transferred the remains of all those who had been buried in the Armenian cemetery and reinterred them in two stone tombs The tomb-stone of Steven Visser which is particularly mentioned as being too heavy was left undisturbed. The Dutch cemetery was in all probability demolished after the annexation of the kingdom of Golkonda by Aurangzeb in A.D 1687, shortly after which, the Dutch factory was removed from Hyderabad

The inscriptions on the tombs are all in fair state of preservation and very brief. Among them are the epitaphs of two priests, which is an indication that the community was fairly large as to require the services of priests, although there are no records to show that the community had its own church. This is also supported by the evidence contained in a pontifical bull sent from Holy Etchmiadzin (the spiritual centre of Armenian Chursbian-tuow in Soviet Armenia), dated 31st December, 1850 addressed to the Armenian residents of the various cities of India, including Hyderabad⁶

The inscriptions are arranged chronologically. The epitaphs use only the Great Armenian Era for recording dates. The starting point of this era is still a matter of debate. We have followed the view that the Armenians adopted the quincenary cycle of Aeos they reckoned 562- the date on which the latter calendar was devised the tenth year of their own cycle, thus 552 became the first year of the Great Armenian Era. On this basis, the difference between the Armenian Era and the modern Calendar is 551 years, a figure which is employed for the calendrical conversions⁷

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Pl.I. Armenian Cemetery - Uppuguda



Pl.II. Armenian Cemetery - Uppuguda



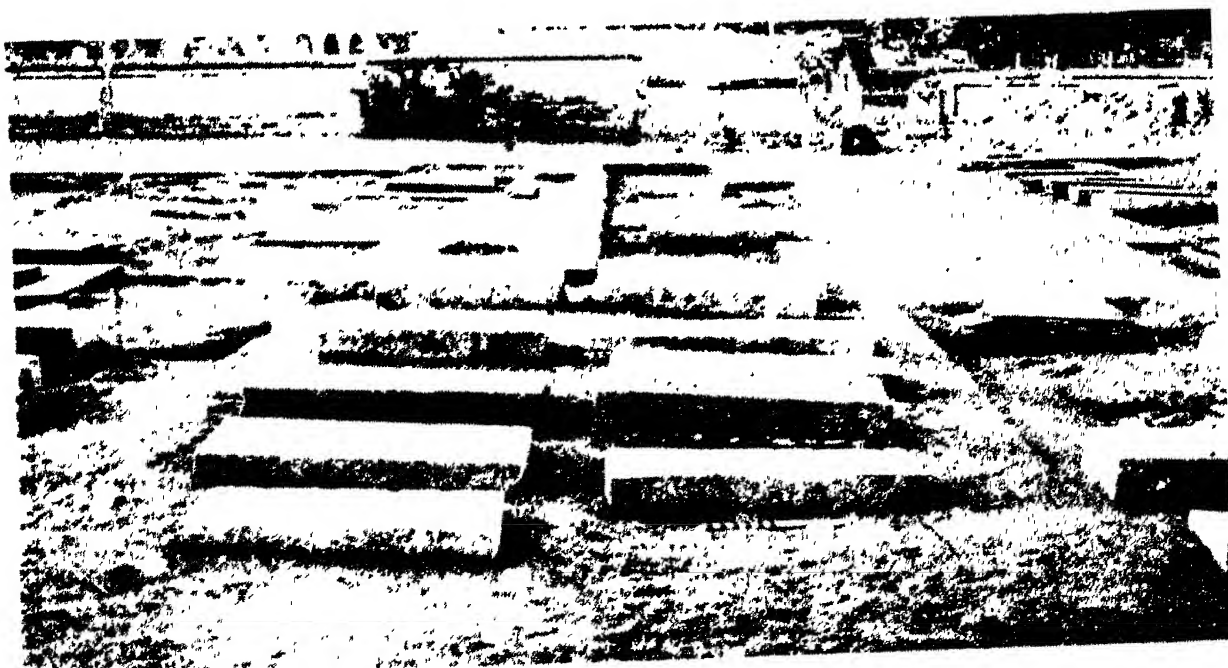
Pl.III. Armenian Cemetery - Uppuguda



Pl.IV. Armenian Cemetery - Uppuguda

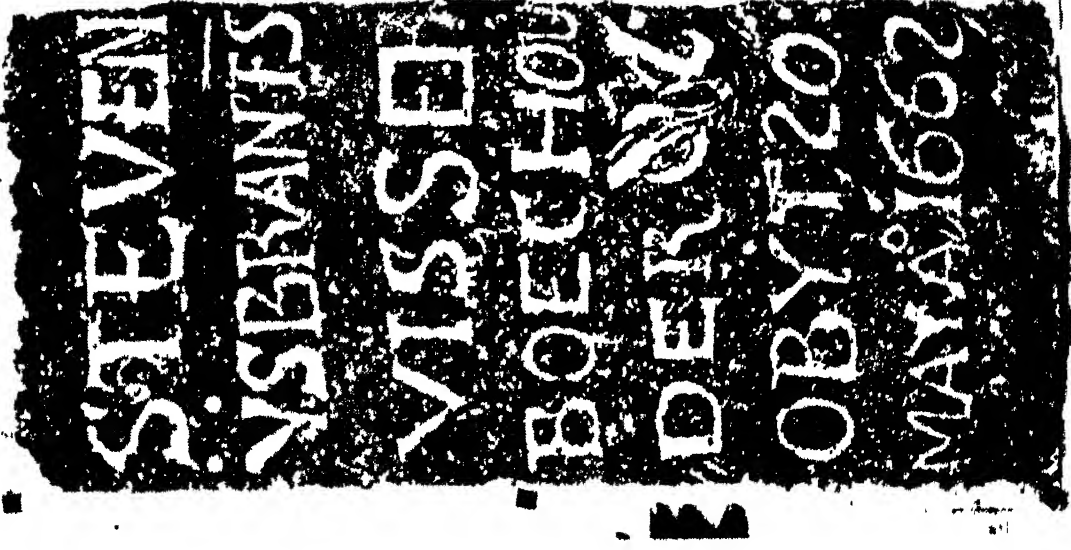


Pl.V. General view of Armenian Cemetery, North-south - Uppuguda

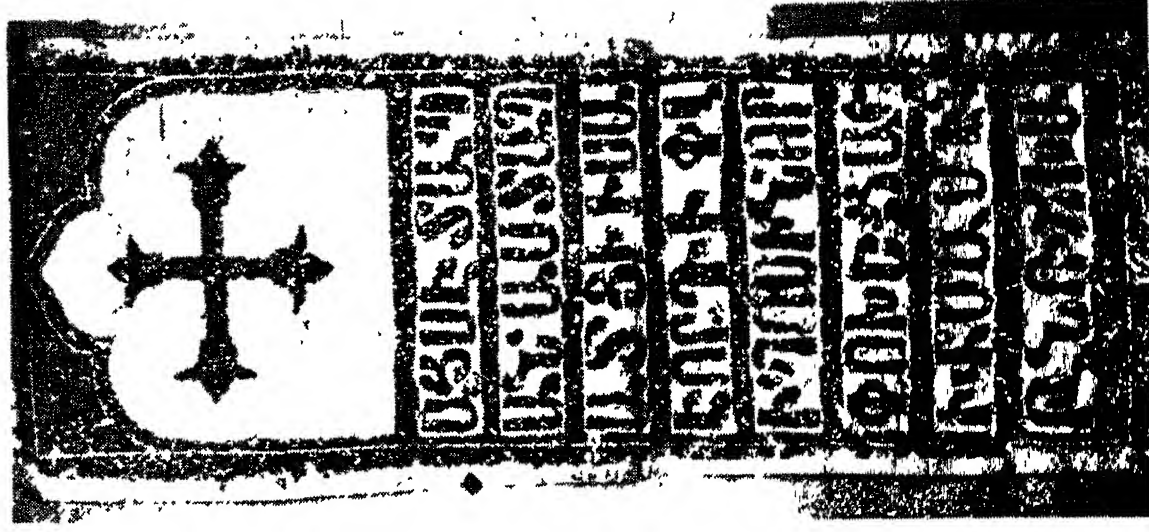
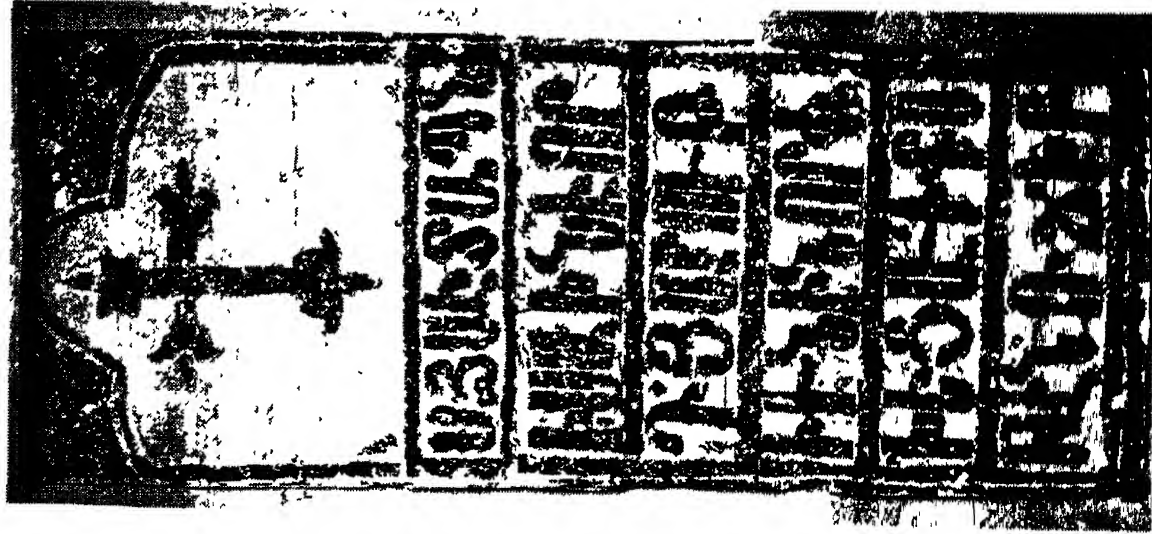


Pl.VI. General view of Armenian Cemetery, North-south - Uppuguda

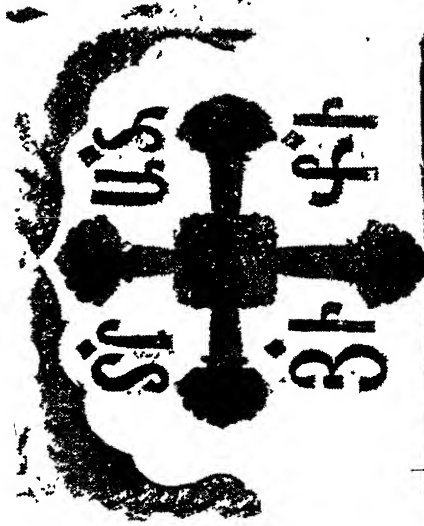
The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda



The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda



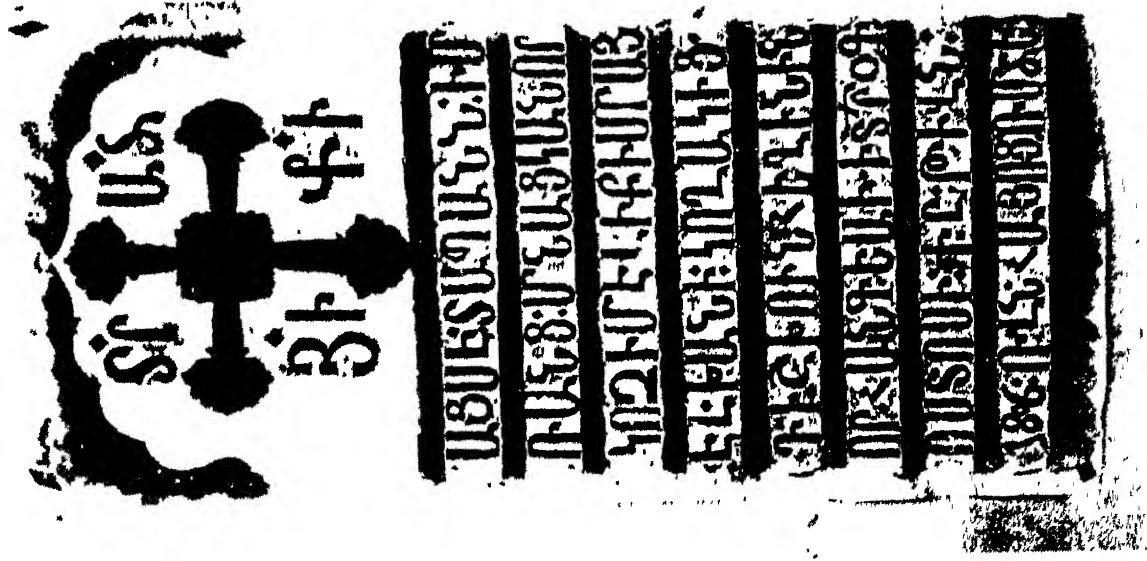
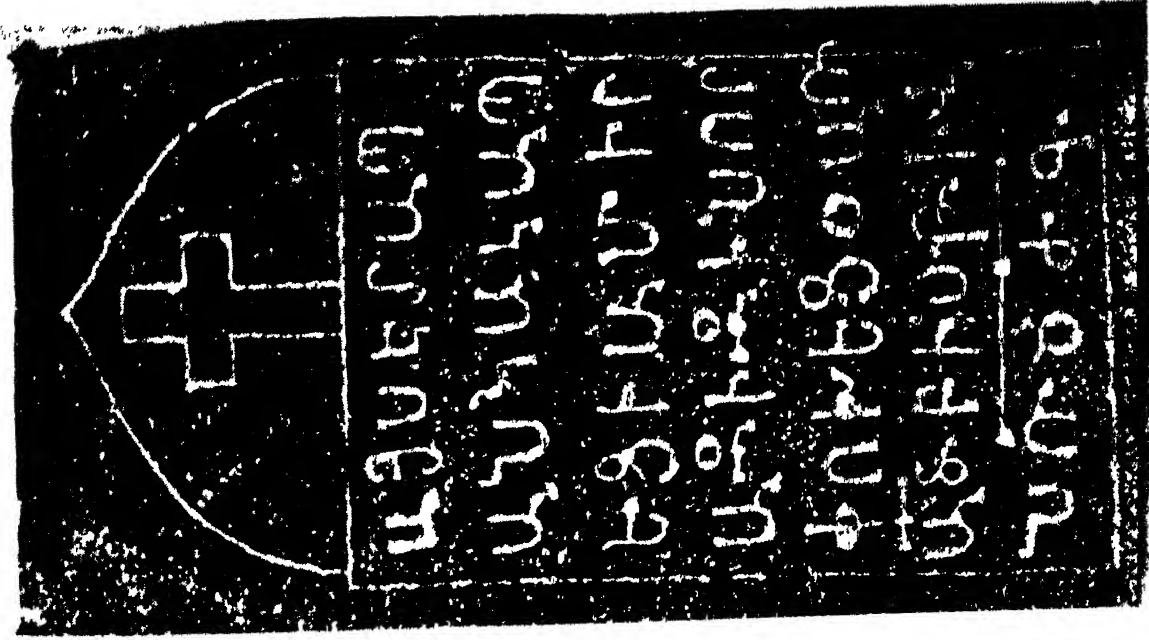
The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda



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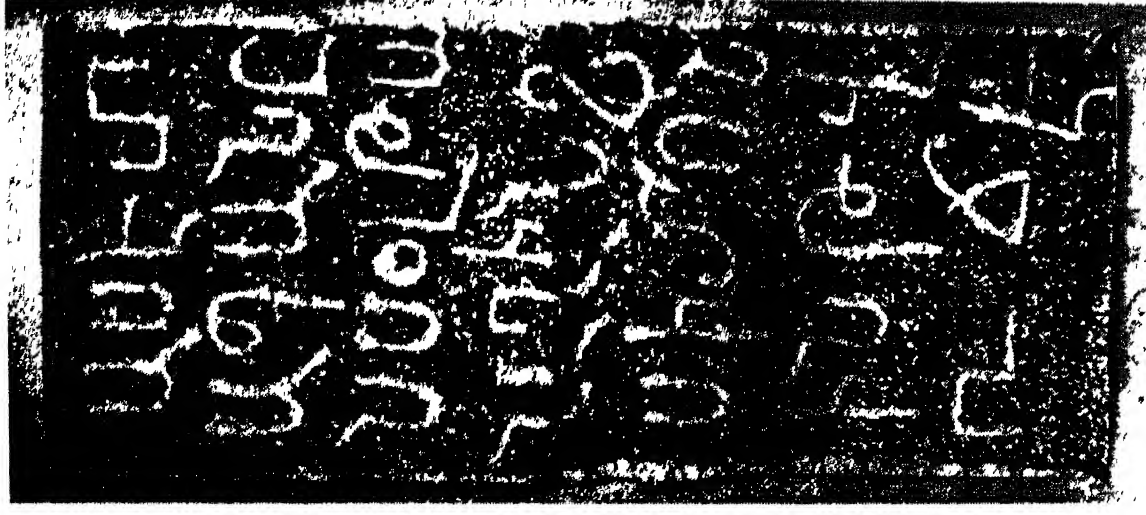
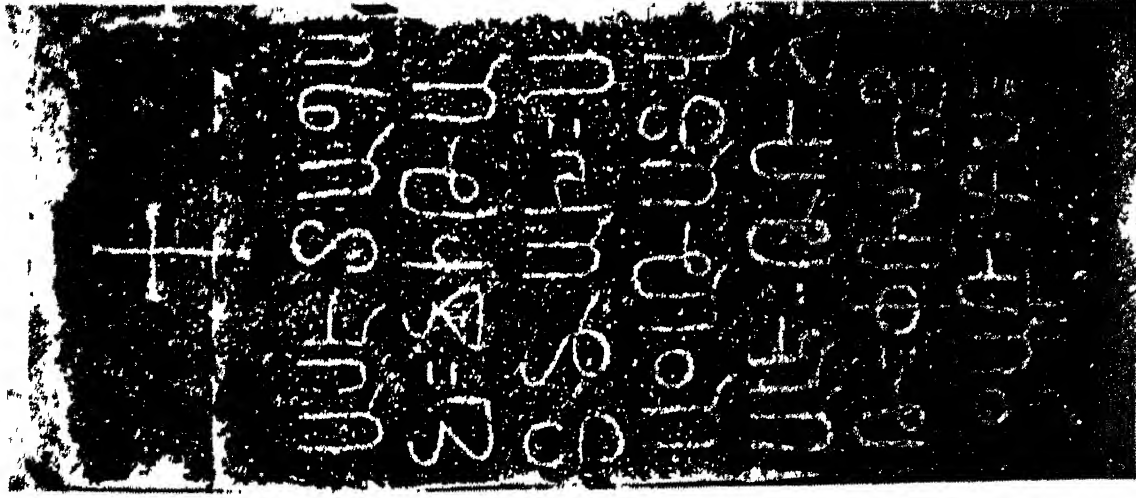
The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda



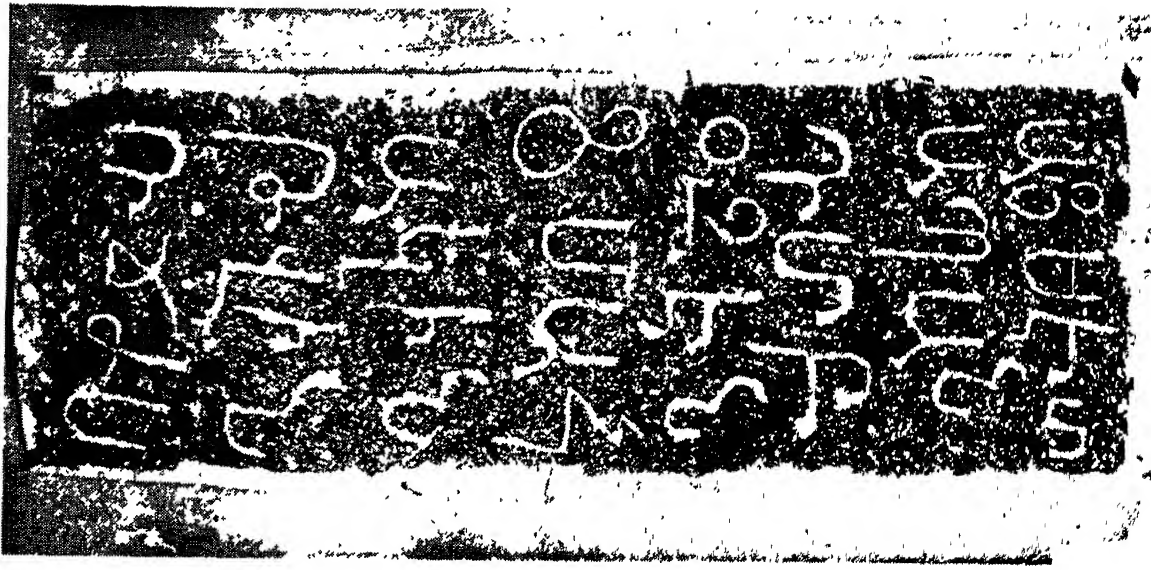
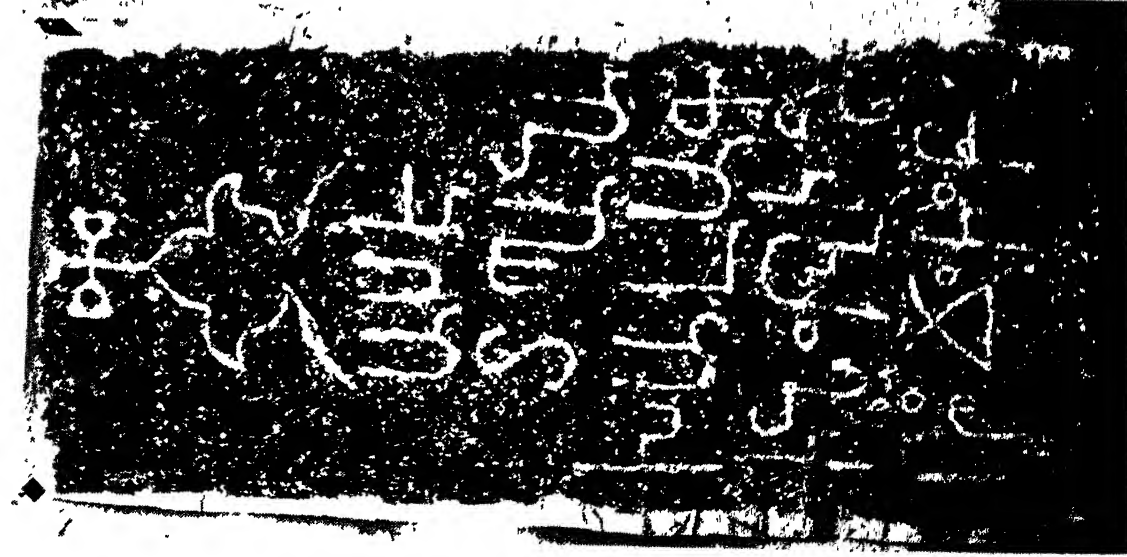
The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda



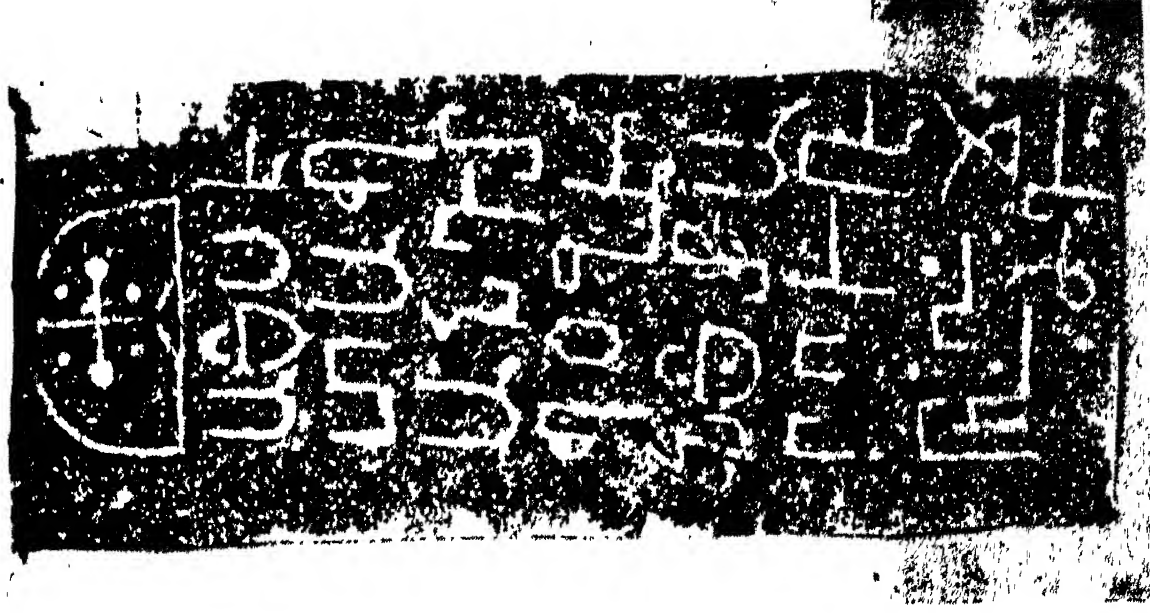
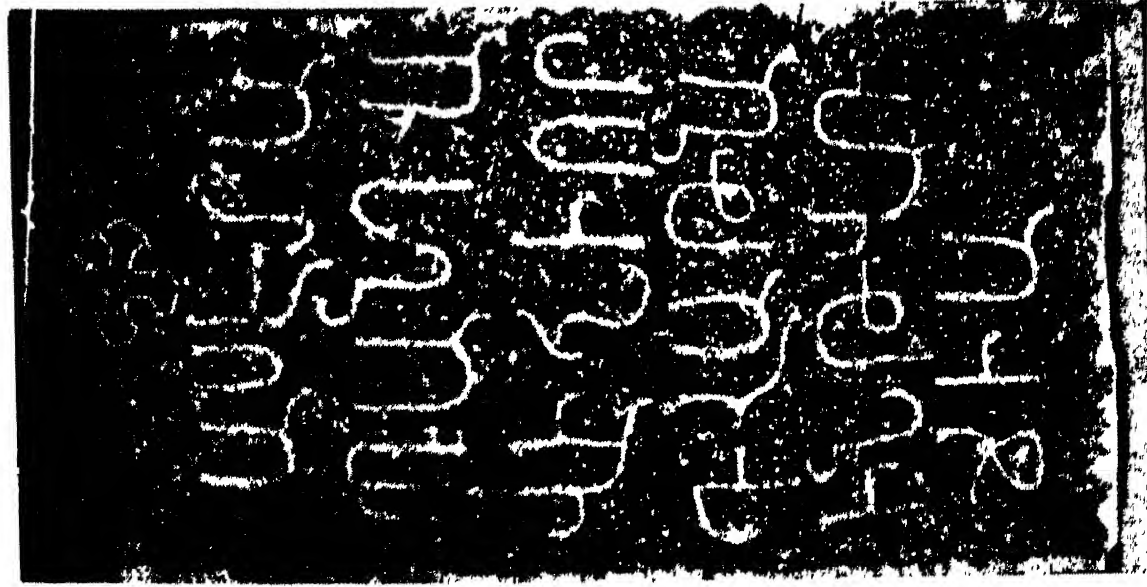
The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda



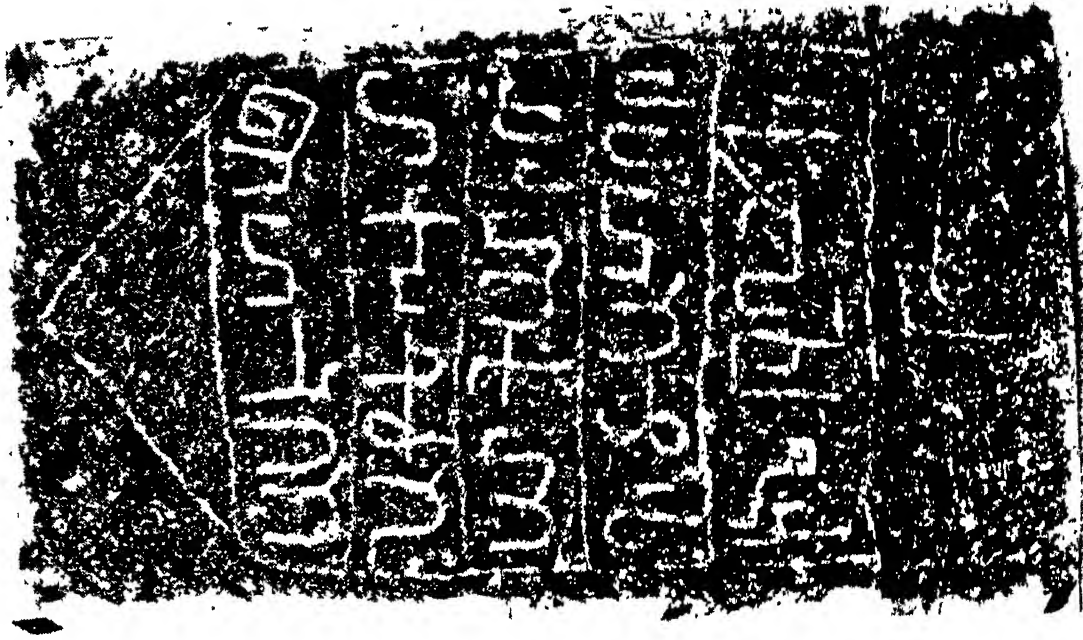
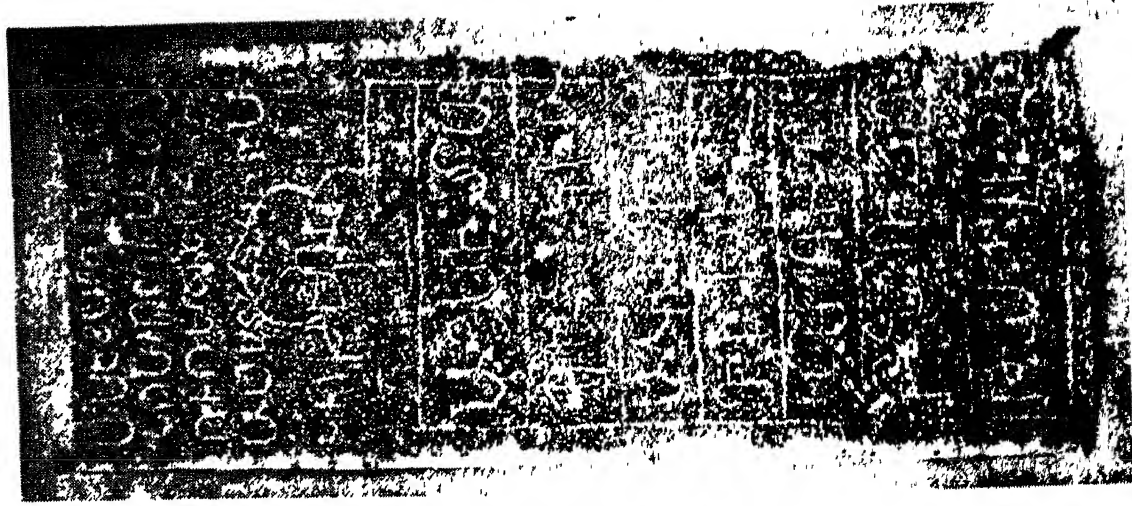
The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda



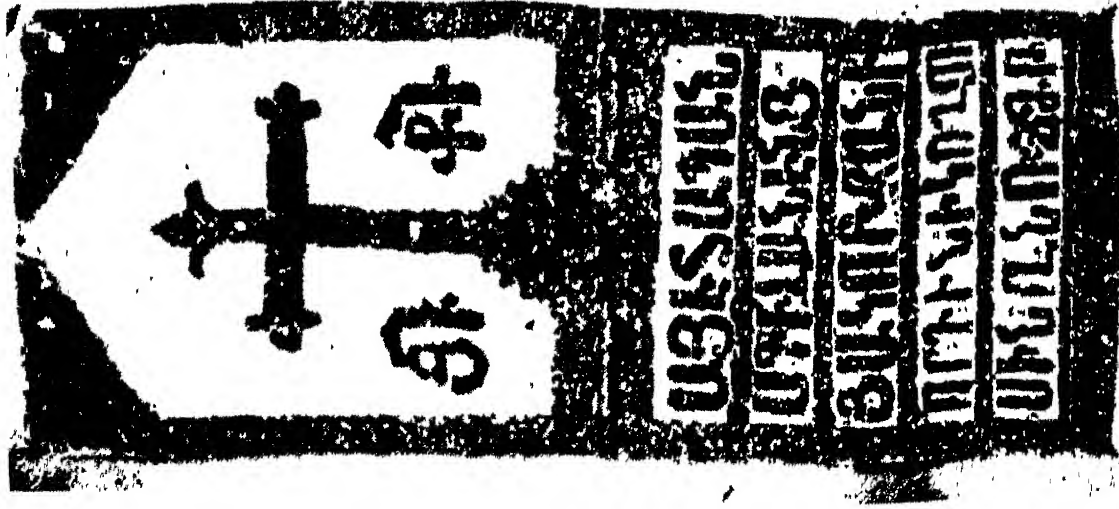
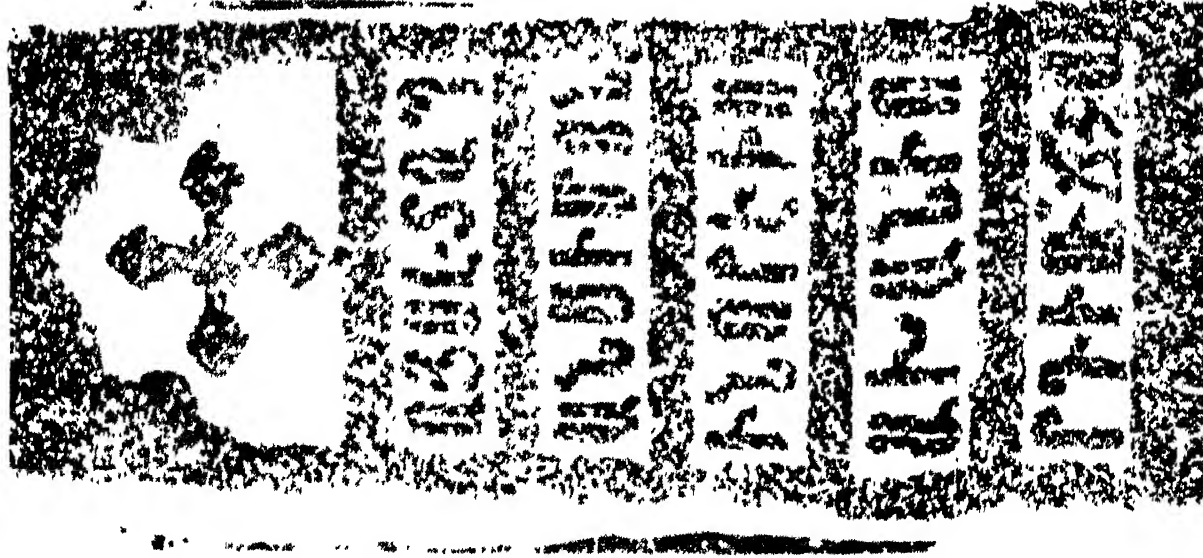
The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda



The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda



The Armanian Cemetery at Uppuguda





REVIEW

—Dr. B. Rajendra Prasad

B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, *ĀNDHRULA CHARITRA (Ancient and Medieval Ages)*, Tripura Sundari, 3/17, Brodiepet, Guntur, 1983, pp.488, Price, Rs.45.00 Telugu)

This book, under review, is a comprehensive account of the history of Āndhra from the earliest times to the end of Qutub Shahi's rule. As it is written in Telugu, it is most welcome. The author states in the Preface that the modern period of Āndhra history is under preparation which we earnestly hope to see in print in the near future.

The book is divided into ten Chapters. The first chapter touches upon the definition of the terms like Dakṣiṇāpatha, Āndhra, Trīṇiṅga, Āndhrajāti and Āndhra-bhāsha. As an outline, the geographical and physical features and sources relating to Āndhra history are discussed. In the succeeding chapters, the history of Āndhra, beginning from the pre-Sātavāhana period to the Qutub Shahis is treated. The history of the Ikṣvākus should have formed part of the Chapter on the Sātavāhanas, for, the continuities in all aspects are striking. Similarly, the Chapter on the Dynasties of the post-Sātavāhana period should have been called as the Age of Viṣṇukundis for the size of its kingdom and socio-economic changes. The author rightly points out that agricultural expansion and its thrust began after the fall of the Sātavāhanas, which also coincided with the fall in the Roman trade. This factor, coupled with the rise of *agrahāras*, led to the rise of new class of land owners and also to the rise of brāhmanas in political and economic spheres. The economy during this period is rightly termed as rural economy.

Although geography, language and art style etc., gave Āndhra, an identity of its own from the seventh century A.D., the regional spirit and consciousness came to the fore during the rule of the Kākatīyas. This trend is well documented by marshalling literary and inscriptional evidences. The growth of economy during the 11th and 12th centuries, witnessed the rise of

agricultural and artisan classes. Attendant social changes, religious conflicts between the Śārvas and Jainas, impact of Vīra Śaivism and Vīra Vaiṣṇavism, growing importance of village deities and deities of the artisans are explained in a succinct manner

Resistance to the Muslim expansion in the Reddi-Nāyaka period by the Musunūri Nāyakas, the conflicts between the Reddis and the Velamas and the history of Reddi rule are well treated. The history of the Vijayanagara and Qutub Shahis are the best summations of the available data.

Rational attitude and discerning judgement in the clarification of issues such as identity or the origin of either the Sātavāhanas or the famous poets like Nannaya or Śrīnātha or in the analysis of Vijayanagara founders or Vidyāranya's role, are notable and free from chauvinism. The author has utilised recent epigraphical and archaeological discoveries and the extensive use of literary data is remarkable. This work is lucidly written and the author deserves congratulations for this outstanding work on Andhra History.

